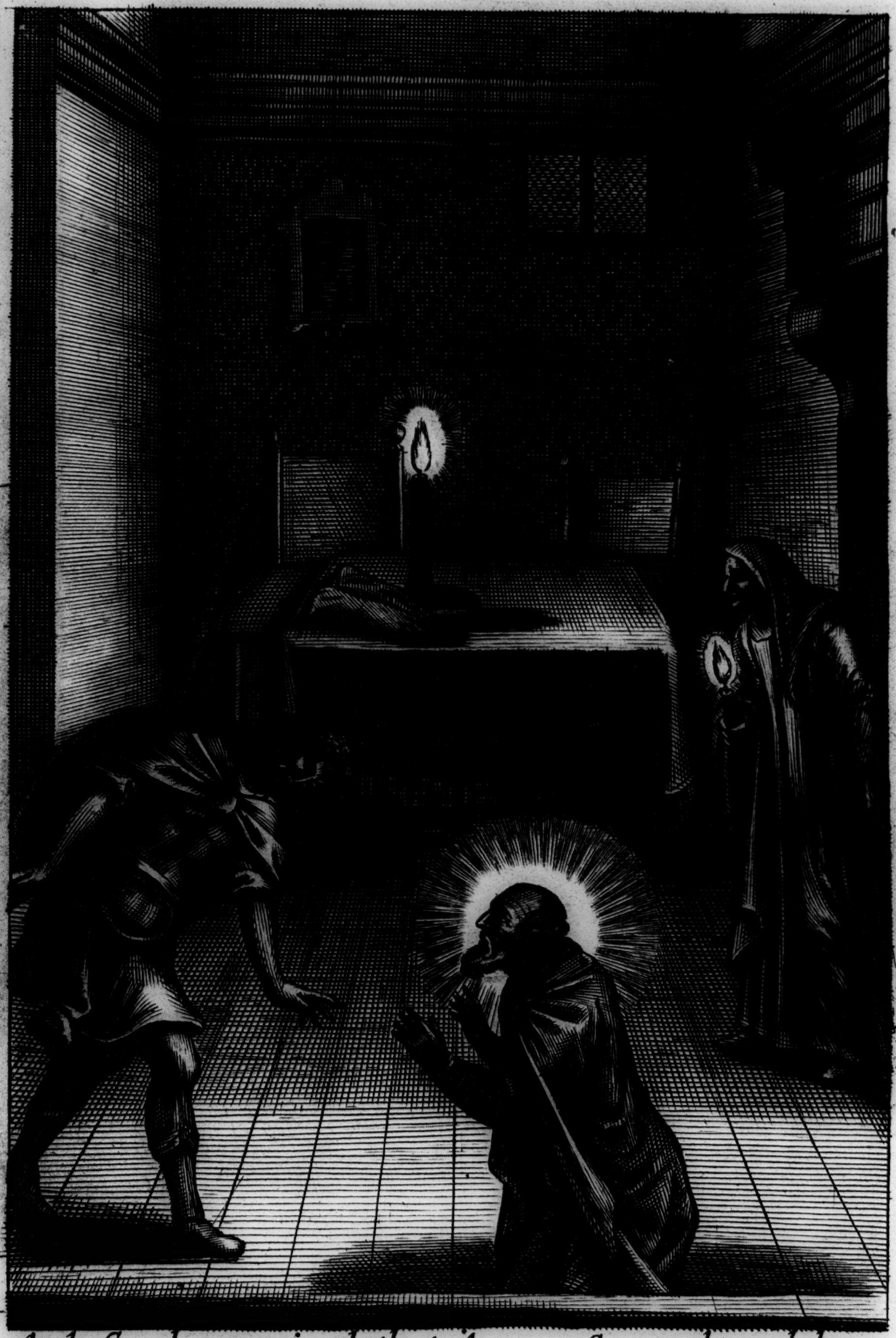

*And Saul perceiued that it was Samuel. and he stouped with his face to the ground. and bowed himself.* 1st. Samuel. Chap.: 28: v: 14.

W. Faithorne. fecit.

# *Saduciſmus Triumphatus:*

OR,

## Full and Plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

# WITCHES

AND

# APPARITIONS.

---

## In Two PARTS.

The Firſt treating of their

## POSSIBILITY,

The Second of their Real

## EXISTENCE.

---

By *Joſeph Glanvil* late Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

---

With a Letter of Dr. *HENRY MORE* on the ſame Subject.

And an Authentick, but wonderful ſtory of certain *Swediſh* Witches; done into Engliſh by *Anth. Horneck* Preacher at the *Savoy*.

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*LONDON*: Printed for *J. Collins* at his Shop under the *Temple*-Church, and *S. Lownds* at his Shop by the *Savoy*-gate, 1681.

# MICHIGAN

## SUPREME COURT

## BOSS BRIEFS

### IN LEGAL CONTENTION

# NEW DECISIONS

AND

# "ALL CHES"

CONCERNING

## CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE

OF

## DEAD MEN'S FINGERNAILS

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in God

# SETH

Lord Biſhop of

# SARUM,

Chancellor of the GARTER.

This New and Compleated EDITION

OF

*Saduciſmus Triumphatus*

Is moſt humbly Dedicated to your Lordſhip,

By,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt Obliged and

Humble Servant

(The PUBLISHER)

*James Collins.*

# SAMUEL

# THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

Reader,

*THat thou haſt no ſooner enjoyed this long-expected Edition, thou canſt not juſtly blame either the Author or my ſelf. Not my ſelf, for I could not publiſh the book before I had it; nor the Author, becauſe many unexpected occaſions drove off his mind to other matters, and interrupted him in his preſent deſign, inſomuch that he was ſnatcht away by Death before he had quite finiſhed it. But though the learned World may very well lament the loſs of ſo able and ingenious a Writer, yet as to this preſent point, if that may mitigate thy ſorrow, in all likelihood this Book had not ſeen the light ſo ſoon if he had lived, ſo many emergent occaſions giving him new interruptions, and offering him new temptations to further delay.*

*Indeed it had been deſirable that it might have had the poliſhing of his laſt hand, as the peruſer of his Papers ſignifies in his laſt* Advertiſement. *But to compenſate this loſs, the ſaid Peruſer, a friend as well to his* Deſign *as to his* Perſon, *has digeſted thoſe Materials he left into that order and diſtinctneſs, and has ſo tied things together, and ſupplied them in his* Advertiſements, *that, to the judicious Reader, no-*

*thing can ſeem wanting that may ſerve the ends of his intended Treatiſe. Not to intimate what conſiderable things are added, more than it is likely had been, if he had finiſhed it himſelf: For, beſides the* Advertiſements *of the careful Peruſer of his Papers, and that notable late* Story *of the* Swediſh Witches *tranſlated out of* German *into the* Engliſh *Tongue, there is alſo added a ſhort* Treatiſe of the true and genuine Notion of a Spirit, *taken out of Dr.* More's Enchiridion Metaphyſicum, *to entertain thoſe that are more curious ſearchers into the nature of theſe things.*

*The* Number *alſo of the* Stories *are much increaſed above what was deſigned by Mr.* Glanvil, *though none admitted but ſuch as ſeemed very well atteſted and highly credible to his aboveſaid Friend, and ſuch, as rightly underſtood, contain nothing but what is conſonant to right Reaſon and ſound Philoſophy, as I have heard him earneſtly avouch, though it had been too tedious to have explained all; and it may be more grateful to the Reader to be left to exerciſe his own wit and ingeny upon the reſt. Theſe are the* advantages *this Edition of Mr.* Glanvil's Dæmon *of* Tedworth, *and his* Conſiderations about Witchcraft *have, above any Edition before, though the laſt of them was ſo bought up, that there was not a Copy of them to be had in all* London *and* Cambridge, *but the Peruſer of his Papers was fain to break his own to ſerve the Preſs with; If theſe intimations may move thy Appetite to the reading ſo* pleaſant *and* uſeful *a Treatiſe.*

*And*

*And yet I can add one thing more touching the story of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth *which is very considerable. It is not for me indeed to take notice of that* meanness *of spirit in the* Exploders *of* Apparitions *and* Witches, *which very strangely betrayed it self in the decrying of that well-attested Narrative touching the Stirrs in Mr.* Mompesson's *house. Where, although they that came to be Spectaters of the marvelous things there done by some* invisible Agents, *had all the liberty imaginable ( even to the ripping of the Bolsters open ) to search and try if they could discover any natural cause or cunning Artifice whereby such strange feats were done; and numbers that had free access from day to day, were abundantly satisfied of the reality of the thing, that the house was* haunted *and disturbed by* Dæmons *or* Spirits; *yet some few years after the Stirrs had ceased, the truth of this story lying so uneasie in the minds of the disgusters of such things, they raised a Report, ( when none of them, no not the most diligent and curious could detect any trick or fraud themselves in the matter ) that both Mr.* Glanvil *himself, who published the* Narrative, *and Mr.* Mompesson, *in whose house these wonderful things happened, had confessed the whole matter to be a Cheat and Imposture. And they were so diligent in spreading abroad this gross untruth, that it went currant in all the three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. *An egregious discovery of what kind of Spirit this sort of men are! which, as I said, though it be not for me to take notice of, yet I will not stick to*

*signifie*

*ſignifie (it being both for mine own Intereſt and the Intereſt of Truth) that thoſe Reports raiſed touching Mr.* Glanvil *and Mr.* Mompeſſon, *are by the preſent Edition of this Book demonſtrated to be falſe to all the world. That concerning Mr.* Glanvil, *by his* Preface *to the ſecond Part of the Book; That touching Mr.* Mompeſſon, *by* two Letters *of his own, the one to Mr.* Glanvil, *the other to my ſelf, which are ſubjoyned to the ſaid* Preface: *Which thing alone may juſtly be deemed to add a very great weight to the value, as of that Story, ſo of this preſent Edition.*

*But I will not, upon pretence of exciting thy Appetite, keep thee from the ſatisfying it by an overlong Preface: which yet if it may ſeem to be defective in any thing, the Doctors Letter (where amongſt other things you ſhall meet with that famous and well-atteſted ſtory of the Apparition of* Anne Walker's *Ghoſt to the Miller) will, I hope make an abundant ſupply. I ſhall add nothing more my ſelf, but that I am*

Your humble Servant

J. C.

# Dr. *H. M.* his LETTER WITH THE POSTSCRIPT,

## To Mr. *J. G.*

Minding him of the great Expedience and Uſefulneſs of his new intended Edition of the *Dæmon* of *Tedworth*, and briefly repreſenting to him the marvellous weakneſs and gullerie of Mr. *Webſter's Diſplay of Witchcraft.*

*SIR,*

*WHen I was laſt at* London, *I called on your Book-ſeller, to know in what forwardneſs this new intended Impreſſion of the ſtory of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth *was, which will undeceive the world touching that Fame generally ſpread abroad, as if Mr.* Mompeſſon *and your ſelf had acknowledged the*



*buſineſs*

*buſineſs to have been a meer Trick or Impoſture. But the Story, with your ingenious* Conſiderations about Witchcraft, *being ſo often printed already, he ſaid, it behoved him to take care how he ventured on a new Impreſſion, unleſs he had ſome new matter of that kind to adde, which might make this new Edition the more certainly ſalable; and therefore he expected the iſſue of that noiſed ſtory of the Spectre at* Exeter, *ſeen ſo oft for the diſcovering of a Murther committed ſome thirty years ago. But the event of this buſineſs, as to juridical proceſs, not anſwering expectation, he was diſcouraged from making uſe of it, many things being reported to him from thence in favour to the party moſt concerned. But I told him a ſtory of one Mrs.* Britton *her appearing to her Maid after her death, very well attested, though not of ſuch a Tragical kind as that of* Exeter, *which he thought conſiderable.*

*But of Diſcoveries of Murther I never met with any ſtory more plain and unexceptionable than that in Mr.* John Webſter *his* Diſplay of ſuppoſed Witchcraft. *The Book indeed it ſelf, I confeſs, is but a weak and impertinent piece; but that ſtory weighty and convincing, and ſuch as himſelf (though otherwiſe an affected Caviller againſt almoſt all ſtories of* Witchcraft *and* Apparitions) *is conſtrained to aſſent to, as you ſhall ſee from his own confeſſion. I ſhall for your better eaſe, or becauſe you haply may not have the Book, tranſcribe it out of the Writer himſelf, though*

*though it be something long,* Chap. 16. Page 298.

*About the year of our Lord* 1632, (*as near as I can remember, having lost my Notes and the Copy of the Letter to Serjeant* Hutton, *but am sure that I do most perfectly remember the substance of the story*) *near unto* Chester in the Street, *there lived one* Walker *a Yeoman-man of good estate, and a Widower, who had a young Woman to his Kinswoman that kept his House, who was by the Neighbours suspected to be with Child, and was towards the dark of the Evening one night sent away with one* Mark Sharp, *who was a Collier, or one that digged Coals under ground, and one that had been born in* Blakeburn-*Hundred in* Lancashire; *and so she was not heard of a long time, and no noise or little was made about it. In the Winter-time after, one* James Graham *or* Grime (*for so in that Countrey they call them*) *being a Miller, and living about Two miles from the place where* Walker *lived, was one night alone very late in the Mill grinding Corn; and as, about twelve or one a Clock at night, he came down the Stairs from having been putting Corn in the Hopper, the Mill-doors being shut, there stood a Woman upon the midst of the Floor with her Hair about her Head hanging down and all bloody, with five large Wounds on her Head. He being much affrighted and amazed, began to bless him, and at last asked her who she was, and what she wanted? To which she said,* I am the Spirit of

ſuch a Woman, who lived with *Walker*; and being got with Child by him, he promiſed to ſend me to a private place, where I ſhould be well lookt to until I was brought in bed and well again, and then I ſhould come again and keep his Houſe.

And accordingly, *ſaid the Apparition*, I was one night late ſent away with one *Mark Sharp*, who, upon a Moor (*naming a place that the Miller knew*) ſlew me with a Pick, (*ſuch as men dig Coals withal*) and gave me theſe five Wounds, and after threw my Body into a Coal-pit hard by, and hid the Pick under a Bank: and his Shoes and Stockings being bloudy, he endeavoured to waſh; but ſeeing the bloud would not waſh forth, he hid them there. *And the Apparition further told the Miller, that he muſt be the man to reveal it, or elſe that ſhe muſt ſtill appear and haunt him. The Miller returned home very ſad and heavy, but ſpoke not one word of what he had ſeen, but eſchewed as much as he could to ſtay in the Mill within night without company, thinking thereby to eſcape the ſeeing again of that frightful Apparition.*

*But notwithſtanding, one night when it began to be dark, the Apparition met him again, and ſeemed very fierce and cruel, and threatned him. That if he did not reveal the Murder, ſhe would continually purſue and haunt him. Yet for all this, he ſtill concealed it until St.* Thomas-*Eve before* Chriſtmas, *when being ſoon after Sun-ſet walking*

*walking in his Garden, she appeared again, and then so threatned him and affrighted him, that he faithfully promised to reveal it next morning.*

*In the morning he went to a Magistrate, and made the whole matter known, with all the circumstances; and diligent search being made, the Body was found in a Coal-pit with five Wounds in the Head, and the Pick, and Shoes, and Stockings yet bloody, in every circumstance as the Apparition had related unto the Miller. Whereupon* Walker *and* Mark Sharp *were both apprehended, but would confess nothing. At the Assizes following (I think it was at* Durham*) they were arraigned, found guilty, condemned, and executed, but I could never hear that they confessed the Fact. There were some that reported that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Foreman of the Jury, (who was alive in* Chester in the Street *about Ten years ago, as I have been credibly informed) but of that I know no certainty.*

*There are many persons yet alive that can remember this strange Murder, and the Discovery of it; for it was, and sometimes yet is, as much discoursed of in the North-Countrey, as any thing that almost hath ever been heard of, and the Relation Printed, though now not to be gotten. I relate this with the greater confidence, (though I may fail in some of the Circumstances) because I saw and read the Letter that was sent to Serjeant*

Hutton, *who then lived at* Goldsbrugh *in* Yorkshire, *from the Judge before whom* Walker *and* Mark Sharp *were tried, and by whom they were condemned; and had a Copy of it until about the year* 1658, *when I had it and many other Books and Papers taken from me. And this I confeſs to be one of the moſt convincing Stories (being of undoubted verity) that ever I read, heard, or knew of, and carrieth with it the moſt evident force to make the moſt incredulous ſpirit to be ſatisfied that there are really ſometimes ſuch things as Apparitions. Thus far He.*

*This Story is ſo conſiderable, that I make mention of it in my* Scholia *on my* Immortality of the Soul, *in my* Volumen Philoſophicum, *Tom.* 2. *which I acquainting a Friend of mine with, a prudent intelligent perſon, Dr.* J. D. *he of his own accord offered me, it being a thing of ſuch conſequence, to ſend to a friend of his in the North for greater aſſurance of the truth of the Narration; which motion I willingly embracing, he did accordingly. The Anſwer to his Letter from his friend Mr.* Shepherdſon, *is this.*

I have done what I can to inform my ſelf of the paſſage of *Sharp* and *Walker*. There are very few men that I could meet, that were then men, or at the Tryal, ſaving theſe two in the incloſed Paper, both men at that time, and both at the Tryal. And for Mr. *Lumley*, he lived next door to *Walker*; and what he hath given

given under his hand, can depoſe if there were occaſion. The other Gentleman writ his Atteſtation with his own hand; but I being not there, got not his Name to it. I could have ſent you twenty hands that could have ſaid thus much and more by hearſay, but I thought theſe moſt proper that could ſpeak from their own Eyes and Ears. *Thus far Mr.* Shepherdſon, *the Doctor's diſcreet and faithful Intelligencer. Now for Mr.* Lumley's *Teſtimony, it is this.*

*Mr.* William Lumley *of* Lumley, *being an ancient Gentleman, and at the Tryal of* Walker *and* Sharp *upon the Murder of* Anne Walker, *ſaith, that he doth very well remember that the ſaid* Anne *was Servant to* Walker, *and that ſhe was ſuppoſed to be with Child, but would not diſcloſe by whom. But being removed to her Aunts in the ſame Town, called Dame* Carie, *told her Aunt that he that had got her with Child, would take care both for her and it, and bid her not trouble her ſelf. After ſome time ſhe had been at her Aunts, it was obſerved that* Sharp *came to* Lumley *one night, being a ſworn Brother of the ſaid* Walker's; *and they two that night called her forth from her Aunts Houſe, which night ſhe was murdered.*

*About fourteen days after the murder, there appeared to one* Graime *a Fuller, at his Mill, ſix miles from* Lumley, *the likeneſs of a Woman, with her Hair about her head, and the appear-*

*ance of five Wounds in her Head, as the said* Graime *gave it in Evidence. That that appearance bid him go to a Justice of Peace, and relate to him how that* Walker *and* Sharp *had murthered her, in such a place as she was murthered: But he fearing to disclose a thing of that nature against a person of credit as* Walker *was, would not have done it; but she continually appearing night by night to him, and pulling the Clothes off his Bed, told him, he should never rest till he had disclosed it. Upon which he the said* Graime *did go to a Justice of Peace, and related the whole matter. Whereupon the Justice of Peace granted Warrants against* Walker *and* Sharp, *and committed them to prison. But they found Bail to appear at the next Assizes. At which time they came to their Tryal, and upon evidence of the Circumstances with that of* Graime *of the Appearance, they were both found guilty, and executed.*

Will. Lumley.

*The other Testimony is of Mr.* James Smart *of the City of* Durham; *who saith, That the Trial of* Sharp *and* Walker *was in the moneth of* August 1631, *before Judge* Davenport. *One Mr.* Fairhair *gave it in Evidence upon Oath, that he see the likeness of a Child stand upon* Walker's *Shoulders during the time of the Trial: At which time the Judge was very much troubled, and gave Sentence that night the Trial was; which was a thing never used in* Durham *before nor after.*

*Out*

*Out of which Two Teſtimonies ſeveral things may be corrected or ſupplied in Mr.* Webſters *Story, though it be evident enough that in the main they agree: For that is but a ſmall diſagreement as to the Year, when Mr.* Webſter *ſays about the year of our Lord* 1632. *and Mr.* Smart, 1631. *But unleſs at* Durham *they have Aſſizes but once in the year, I underſtand not ſo well how* Sharp *and* Walker *ſhould be apprehended ſome little while after St.* Thomas *day, as Mr.* Webſter *has it, and be tried the next Aſſizes at* Durham, *and yet that be in* Auguſt *according to Mr.* Smarts *Teſtimony. Out of Mr.* Lumley's *Teſtimony the Chriſten Name of the young Woman is ſupplied, as alſo the Name of the Town near* Cheſter in the Street, *namely* Lumley. *The Circumſtances alſo of* Walker's *ſending away his Kinſwoman with* Mark Sharp, *are ſupplied out of Mr.* Lumley's *Narrative; and the time rectified, by telling it was about fourteen days till the Spectre appeared after the Murther, whenas Mr.* Webſter *makes it a long time.*

*Two Errours alſo more are corrected in Mr.* Webſter's *Narration, by Mr.* Lumley's *Teſtimony: The diſtance of the Miller from* Lumley *where* Walker *dwelt, which was Six miles, not Two miles, as Mr.* Webſter *has it. And alſo, that it was not a Mill to grinde Corn in, but a Fullers Mill. The Apparition night by night pulling the Clothes off* Graime's *Bed, omitted in Mr.* Webſter's *ſtory, may be ſupplied out of Mr.* Lumley's.

*And*

*And Mr.* Smart's *Teſtimony puts it out of controverſie that the Trial was at* Durham, *and before Judge* Davenport, *which is omitted by Mr.* Webſter. *And whereas Mr.* Webſter *ſays, there were ſome that reported that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Fore-man of the Jury, but of that he knows no certainty: This confeſſion of his, as it is a ſign he would not write any thing in this ſtory of which he was not certain for the main, ſo here is a very ſeaſonable ſupply for this out of Mr.* Smart, *who affirms that he heard one Mr.* Fairhair *give Evidence upon Oath, that he ſaw the likeneſs of a Child ſtand upon* Walker's *Shoulders during the time of the Trial. It is likely this Mr.* Fairhair *might be the Fore man of the Jury; and in that the Judge was ſo very much troubled, that himſelf alſo might ſee the ſame Apparition as Mr.* Webſter *ſays report went, though the miſtake in Mr.* Webſter *is, that it was the Apparition of the Woman. But this of the Child was very fit and appoſite, placed on his Shoulders, as one that was juſtly loaded or charged with that Crime of getting his Kinſwoman with Child, as well as of complotting with* Sharp *to murder her.*

*The Letter alſo which he mentions writ from the Judge before whom the Trial was heard, to Serjeant* Hutton, *it is plain out of Mr.* Smart's *Teſtimony, that it was from Judge* Davenport; *which in all likelihood was a very full and punctual Narrative of the whole buſineſs, and enabled*

*Mr.*

*Mr.* Webſter, *in ſome conſiderable things, to be more particular than Mr.* Lumley. *But the agreement is ſo exact for the main, that there is no doubt to be made of the truth of the Apparition. But that this, forſooth, muſt not be the* Soul *of* Anne Walker, *but her* Aſtral Spirit, *this is but a fantaſtick conceit of* Webſter *and his* Paracelſians, *which I have ſufficiently ſhewn the folly of in the* Scholia *on my* Immortality of the Soul, *Volum. Philoſ. Tom. 2. p.* 384.

*This Story of* Anne Walker *I think you will do well to put amongſt your Additions in the new Impreſſion of your* Dæmon of Tedworth, *it being ſo excellently well atteſted, and ſo unexceptionably in every reſpect; and to haſten as faſt as you can that Impreſſion, to undeceive the half-witted World, who ſo much exult and triumph in the extinguiſhing the belief of that Narration, as if the crying down the truth of that ſtory of the* Dæmon of Tedworth, *were indeed the very ſlaying of the Devil, and that they may now with more gaiety and ſecurity than ever ſing in a loud note that mad drunken Catch,*

Hay ho! the Devil is dead, &c.

*which wild Song, though it may ſeem a piece of levity to mention, yet believe me, the application thereof bears a ſober and weighty intimation along with it,* viz. *that theſe ſort of People are very horribly afraid there ſhould be any Spirit, leſt there ſhould*

*ſhould be a Devil, and an account after this life; and therefore they are impatient of any thing that implies it, that they may with a more full ſwing, and with all ſecurity from an after-reckoning, indulge their own Luſts and Humours in this. And I know by long experience, that nothing rouzes them ſo out of that dull Lethargy of Atheiſm and Sadduciſm, as Narrations of this kind. For they being of a thick and groſs ſpirit, the moſt ſubtile and ſolid deductions of reaſon does little execution upon them; but this ſort of ſenſible Experiments outs them and ſtings them very ſore, and ſo ſtartles them, that by a leſs conſiderable ſtory by far than this of the* Drummer *of* Tedworth, *or of* Anne Walker, *a Doctor of Phyſick cry'd out preſently,* If this be true, I have been in a wrong Box all this time, and muſt begin my account anew.

*And I remember an old Gentleman in the Country of my acquaintance, an excellent Juſtice of Peace, and a piece of a Mathematician; but what kind of Philoſopher he was, you may underſtand from a Rhyme of his own making, which he commended to me at my taking horſe in his yard; which Rhyme is this,*

*Ens* is nothing till Senſe finde it out:
Senſe ends in nothing, ſo nought goes about.

*Which Rhyme of his was ſo rapturous to himſelf, that at the reciting of the ſecond Verſe, the old Gentleman turned himſelf about upon his Toe as nimbly*

*nimbly as one may observe a dry Leaf whisked round in the corner of an Orchard-walk by some little Whirlwind. With this Philosopher I have had many Discourses concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and its distinction from the Body, and of the existence of Spirits. When I have ran him quite down by Reason, he would but laugh at me, and say, This is Logick,* H. *calling me by my Christen-Name. To which I replied, This is* Reason, *Father* L. (*for so I used, and some others, to call him*) *but it seems you are for the New Lights, and immediate Inspiration. Which, I confess, he was as little for as for the other; but I said so onely in way of drollery to him in those times. But truth is, nothing but palpable experience would move him: And being a bold man, and fearing nothing, he told me he had used all the Magical Ceremonies of Conjuration he could to raise the Devil or a Spirit, and had a most earnest desire to meet with one, but never could do it. But this he told me, when he did not so much as think of it, while his Servant was pulling off his Boots in the Hall, some invisible Hand gave him such a clap upon the Back, that it made all ring again. So, thought he, now I am invited to the converse of some Spirit; and therefore so soon as his Boots were off and his Shoes on, out goes he into the Yard and next Field, to finde out the Spirit that had given him this familiar clap on the back, but found none, neither in the Yard nor Field next to it.*

*But though he did not, this stroak, albeit he thought*

*thought it afterwards (finding nothing come of it) a mere deluſion; yet not long before his death it had more force with him than all the Philoſophical Arguments I could uſe to him, though I could winde him and nonplus him as I pleaſed; but yet all my Arguments, how ſolid ſoever, made no impreſſion upon him. Wherefore after ſeveral reaſonings of this nature, whereby I would prove to him the Souls diſtinction from the Body and its immortality, when nothing of ſuch ſubtile conſideration did any more execution on his mind, than ſome Lightning is ſaid to do, though it melt the Sword, on the fuzzy conſiſtency of the Scabbard: Well, ſaid I, Father L. though none of theſe things move you, I have ſomething ſtill behind, and what your ſelf has acknowledged to me to be true, that may do the buſineſs. Do you remember the clap on your back when your Servant was pulling off your Boots in the Hall? Aſſure your ſelf, ſaid I, Father L. that Goblin will be the firſt that will bid you welcome into the other World. Upon that his Countenance changed moſt ſenſibly, and he was more confounded with this rubbing up his memory, than with all the Rational or Philoſophical Argumentations that I could produce.*

*Indeed, if there were any modeſty left in mankind, the Hiſtories of the Bible might abundantly aſſure men of the exiſtence of Angels and Spirits. But theſe Wits, as they are taken to be, are ſo jealous, forſooth, and ſo ſagacious, that whatſoever is offered to them by way of eſtabliſhed Religion, is ſuſpected*

*ſpected for a piece of politick Circumvention; which is as ſilly notwithſtanding, and as childiſh, as that conceit of a Friend of yours when he was a School boy in the loweſt Form of a Country Gramar ſchool, who could not believe ſcarce that there were any ſuch men as* Cato, *and* Æſop, *and* Ovid, *and* Virgil, *and* Tully, *much leſs that they wrote any ſuch Books, but that it was a trick of our Parents to keep us up ſo many hours of the day together, and hinder us from the enjoying our innocent paſtime in the open Air, and the pleaſure of planting little Gardens of Flowers, and of hunting of Butter-flies and Bumble-bees.*

*Beſides, though what is once true never becomes falſe, ſo that it may be truely ſaid it was not once true; yet theſe ſhrewd Wits ſuſpect the truth of things for their antiquity, and for that very reaſon think them the leſs credible: Which is as wiſely done as of the Old Woman the Story goes of, Who being at Church in the week before* Ealter, *and hearing the tragical Deſcription of all the circumſtances of our Saviour's Crucifixion, was in great ſorrow at the reciting thereof; and ſo ſollicitous about the buſineſs, that ſhe came to the Prieſt after Service with tears in her Eyes, dropping him a Courtſie, and asked him how long ago this ſad accident hapned; to whom he anſwering about Fifteen or Sixteen hundred years ago, ſhe preſently began to be comforted, and ſaid, Then in grace of God it may not be true. At this pitch of wit in* Children *and* Old Wives *is the Reaſon of our profeſſed Wit-would-be's of this preſent*

*present Age, who will catch at any slight occasion or pretence of misbelieving those things that they cannot endure should be true.*

*And forasmuch as such course-grain'd Philosophers as those* Hobbians *and* Spinozians, *and the rest of that Rabble, slight Religion and the Scriptures, because there is such express mention of Spirits and Angels in them, things that their dull Souls are so inclinable to conceit to be impossible; I look upon it as a special piece of Providence that there are ever and anon such fresh examples of Apparitions and Witchcrafts as may rub up and awaken their benummed and lethargick Mindes into a suspicion at least, if not assurance that there are other intelligent Beings besides those that are clad in heavy Earth or Clay. In this, I say, methinks the Divine Providence does plainly outwit the Powers of the dark Kingdom, in permitting wicked men and women and vagrant Spirits of that Kingdom to make Leagues or Covenants one with another, the Confession of Witches against their own Lives being so palpable an evidence, (besides the miraculous feats they play) that there are bad Spirits, which will necessarily open a Door to the belief that there are good ones, and lastly that there is a God.*

*Wherefore let the small Philosophick Sir Foplings of this present Age deride them as much as they will, those that lay out their pains in committing to writing certain well-attested Stories of* Witches *and* Apparitions, *do real service to true Religion and*

*and ſound Philoſophy, and the moſt effectual and accommodate to the confounding of Infidelity and Atheiſm, even in the Judgement of the Atheiſts themſelves, who are as much afraid of the truth of theſe ſtories as an Ape is of a Whip; and therefore force themſelves with might and main to disbelieve them by reaſon of the dreadful conſequence of them as to themſelves.* The wicked fear where no fear is, but God is in the generation of the Righteous. *And he that fears God and has Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, need not fear how many Devils there be, nor be afraid of himſelf or his own Immortality. And therefore it is nothing but a foul dark Conſcience within, or a very groſs and dull conſtitution of Blood, that makes men ſo averſe from theſe Truths.*

*But however, be they as averſe as they will, being this is the moſt accommodate Medicine for this Diſeaſe, their diligence and care of Mankind is much to be commended that make it their buſineſs to apply it, and are reſolved, though the peeviſhneſs and perverſneſs of the Patients makes them pull off their Plaiſter, (as they have this excellent one of the Story of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth *by decrying it as an Impoſture, ſo acknowledged by both your ſelf and Mr.* Mompeſſon *) are reſolved, I ſay, with meekneſs and charity to binde it on again, with the addition of new Filletting, I mean other Stories ſufficiently freſh and very well atteſted and certain. This worthy deſign therefore of yours, I muſt confeſs,*

*I cannot but highly commend and approve, and therefore wish you all good success therein; and so, committing you to God, I take leave, and rest*

Your affectionate Friend
to serve you,

*H. M.*

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THE

# THE Postscript.

THis Letter lying by me some time before I thought it opportune to conveigh it, and in the mean while meeting more than once with those that seemed to have some opinion of Mr. *Webster*'s Criticisms and Interpretations of Scripture, as if he had quitted himself so well there, that no proof thence can hereafter be expected of the Being of a Witch, which is the scope that he earnestly aims at; and I reflecting upon that passage in my Letter, which does not stick to condemn *Webster*'s whole Book for a weak and impertinent piece, presently thought fit, (that you might not think that Censure over-rash or unjust) it being an endless task to shew all the weaknesses and impertinencies of his Discourse, briefly by way of *Postscript*, to hint the weakness and impertinency of this part which is counted the Master-piece of the Work, that thereby you may perceive that my judgement has not been at all rash touching the whole.

And in order to this, we are first to take notice what is the real scope of his Book: which

if you peruſe, you ſhall certainly finde to be this: That the parties ordinarily deemed Witches and Wizzards, are onely Knaves and Queans, to uſe his Phraſe, and arrant Cheats, or deep Melancholiſts; but have no more to do with any evil Spirit, or Devil, or the Devil with them, than he has with other Sinners or wicked Men, or they with the Devil. And Secondly, we are impartially to define what is the true Notion of a Witch or Wizzard, which is neceſſary for the detecting of *Webſter*'s Impertinencies.

As for the words *Witch* and *Wizzard*, from the Notation of them, they ſignifie no more than a wiſe Man, or a wiſe Woman. In the word *Wizzard*, it is plain at the very firſt ſight. And I think the moſt plain and leaſt operoſe deduction of the name *Witch*, is from *Wit*, whoſe derived Adjective might be *Wittigh* or *Wittich*, and by contraction afterwards, *Witch*; as the Noun *wit* is from the Verb *to weet*, which is, to know. So that a Witch, thus far, is no more than a Knowing woman; which anſwers exactly to the Latine word *Saga*, according to that of *Feſtus*, *Sagæ dictæ anus quæ multa ſciunt*. Thus in general: But uſe queſtionleſs had appropriated the word to ſuch a kind of skill and knowledge, as was out of the common road or extraordinary. Nor did this peculiarity imply in it any unlawfulneſs. But there was after a further reſtriction and

moſt

moſt proper of all, and in which alone now adays the words *Witch* and *Wizzard* are uſed. And that is, for one that has the knowledge or skill of doing or telling things in an extraordinary way, and that in vertue of either an expreſs or implicite ſociation or confederacy with ſome evil Spirit. This is a true and adequate definition of a *Witch* or *Wizzard*, which to whomſoever it belongs, is ſuch, & *vice versâ*. But to prove or defend, that there neither are, nor ever were any ſuch, is, as I ſaid, the main ſcope of *Webſter*'s Book: In order to which, he endeavours in his ſixth and eighth Chapters to evacuate all the Teſtimonies of Scripture: which how weakly and impertinently he has done, I ſhall now ſhew with all poſſible brevity and perſpicuity.

The words that he deſcants upon, are *Deut.* ch. 18. v. 10, 11. *There ſhall not be found among you any one that uſeth divination, or an obſerver of times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Conſulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer.* The firſt word or name in the Hebrew is קוסם קסמים [*Kosem Keſamim*] a *diviner*. Here becauſe קסם [*Kaſam*] ſometimes has an indifferent ſence, and ſignifies to divine by natural Knowledge or humane Prudence and Sagacity; therefore nothing of ſuch a Witch as is imagined to make a viſible League with the Devil, or to have her Body ſuckt by him, or have carnal copu-

lation with him, or is really turned into a Cat, Hare, Wolf, or Dog, can be deduced from this word. A goodly inference indeed, and hugely to the purpose, as is apparent from the foregoing definition. But though that cannot be deduced, yet in that this *Divination* that is here forbidden, is plainly declared abominable and execrable, as it is *v.* 12. it is manifest that such a *Divination* is understood that really is so; which cannot well be conceived to be, unless it imply either an expres or implicite inveaglement with some evil invisible Powers who assist any kind of those Divinations that may be comprehended under this general term. So that this is plainly one name of Witchcraft according to the genuine definition thereof. And the very words of *Saul* to the Witch of *Endor*, are, קסום־נא לי באוב that is to say, *Divine to me, I pray thee, by thy familiar Spirit.* Which is more than by natural knowledge or humane sagacity.

The next word is מעונן [*Megnonen*] which though our English Translation renders (from עון [*Gnon*] *Tempus*) *an observer of Times*; (which should rather be a Declarer of the seasonableness of the time, or unseasonableness as to success; a thing which is enquired of also from Witches) yet the usual sence rendred by the Learned in the Language, is *Præstigiator*, an Imposer on the sight, *Sapientes prisci*, says *Buxtorf*, a עין [*Gnajin, Oculus*] *deduxerunt* &

מעונן

מעונן [ *Megnonen* ] *esse eum dixerunt, qui tenet & præstringit oculos, ut falsum pro vero videant.* Lo another word that signifies a Witch or a Wizzard, which has its name properly from imposing on the sight, and making the bystander believe he sees Forms or Transformations of things he sees not. As when *Anne Bodenham* transformed herself before *Anne Styles* into the shape of a great Cat; *Anne Styles* her sight was so imposed upon, that the thing to her seemed to be done, though her eyes were onely deluded. But such a delusion certainly cannot be performed without confederacy with evil Spirits. For to think the word signifies *Præstigiator* in that sence we translate it in English, *Juggler*, or an *Hocus-Pocus*, is so fond a conceit, that no man of any depth of wit can endure it. As if a merry Juggler that plays tricks of Legerdemain at a Fair or Market, were such an abomination to either the God of *Israel*, or to his Law-giver *Moses*; or as if an *Hocus-Pocus* were so wise a wight as to be consulted as an Oracle: For it is said *v.* 14. *For the Nations which thou shalt possess, they consult* מעוננים [ *Megnonenim* ]. What, do they consult Jugglers and *Hocus-Pocusses*? No certainly they consult Witches or Wizzards, and Diviners, as *Anne Styles* did *Anne Bodenham*. Wherefore here is evidently a second name of a Witch.

The Third word in the Text, is מנחש [ *Menachesh* ]

*nacheſh* ] which our Engliſh Tranſlation renders, an *Enchanter*. And with Mr. *Webſter's* leave, (who inſulteth ſo over their ſuppoſed ignorance) I think they have tranſlated it very learnedly and judiciouſly: For Charming and Enchanting, as *Webſter* himſelf acknowledges, and the words intimate, being all one, the word מנחש [ *Menacheſh* ] here, may very well ſignifie Enchanters or Charmers; but ſuch properly as kill Serpents by their charming, from נחש [*Nachaſh*] which ſignifies a Serpent, from whence comes נחש [*Nicheſh*] to kill Serpents or make away with them. For a Verb in *Pihel*, ſometimes (eſpecially when it is formed from a Noun) has a contrary ſignification. Thus from שרש *radix* is שרש *radices evulſit*, from רשן *Cinis* רשן *removit Cineres*, from חטא *peccavit* חטא *expiavit à peccato*; and ſo laſtly from נחש *Serpens*, is made נחש *liberavit à ſerpentibus, nempe occidendo vel fugando per incantationem.* And therefore there ſeems to have been a great deal of skill and depth of judgment in our Engliſh Tranſlators that rendred מנחש [ *Menacheſh* ] an Enchanter, eſpecially when that of Augur or South-ſayer, which the Septuagint call Οἰωνιζόμενον (there being ſo many harmleſs kinds of it) might ſeem leſs ſuitable with this black Liſt: For there is no ſuch abomination in adventuring to tell, when the wild Geeſe fly high in great companies and cackle much, that hard weather is at hand.

But

But to rid Serpents by a Charm, is above the power of Nature; and therefore an indication of one that has the assistance of some invisible Spirits to help him in this exploit, as it happens in several others; and therefore this is another name of one that is really a Witch.

The Fourth word is, מכשף [*Mecasseph*] which our English Translators render, a *Witch*; for which I have no quarrel with them, unless they should so understand it that it must exclude others from being so in that sence I have defined, which is impossible they should. But this, as the foregoing, is but another term of the same thing; that is, of a Witch in general, but so called here from the prestigious imposing on the sight of Beholders. *Buxtorf* tells us, that *Aben Ezra* defines those to be מכשפים [*Mecassephim*] *qui mutant & transformant res naturales ad aspectum oculi.* Not as Jugglers and Hocus-Pocusses, as *Webster* would ridiculously insinuate, but so as I understood the thing in the second name: For these are but several names of a Witch, who may have several more properties than one name intimates. Whence it is no wonder that Translators render not them always alike. But so many names are reckoned up here in this clause of the Law of *Moses*, that, as in our common Law, the sence may be more sure, and leave no room to evasion. And that here this name is not from any tricks of Legerdemain as in

common

common Jugglers that delude the sight of the people at a Market or Fair, but that it is the name of such as raise Magical Spectres to deceive mens sight, and so are most certainly Witches, is plain from *Exod.* 22. 18. *Thou shalt not suffer* מכשפה [*Mecassephah*] that is, *a Witch to live.* Which would be a Law of extream severity, or rather cruelty, against a poor Hocus-pocus for his tricks of Legerdemain.

The Fifth name is חובר חבר [*Chobber Chebber*] which our English Translators render Charmer, which is the same with Enchanter. *Webster* upon this name is very tedious and flat, a many words, and small weight in them. I shall dispatch the meaning briefly thus: This חובר חבר [*Chobber Chebber*] that is to say, *Socians Societatem* is another name of a Witch, so called specially either from the consociating together Serpents by a Charm, which has made men usually turn it (from the example of the Septuagints ἐπαίδων ἐπαοιδῷ) a *Charmer*, or an *Enchanter*: or else from the society or compact of the Witch with some evil Spirits; which *Webster* acknowledges to have been the opinion of two very learned men, *Martin Luther*, and *Perkins*; and I will adde a third, *Aben-Ezra*, (as *Martinius* hath noted) who gives this reason of the word חובר [*Chobber*] an Enchanter, which signifies *Socians* or *Jungens*, viz. *Quòd malignos Spiritus sibi associat.* And certainly one may charm long enough,

nough, even till his Heart ake, e're he make one Serpent assemble near him, unless helpt by this confederacy of Spirits that drive them to the Charmer. He keeps a pudder with the sixth verse of the fifty eighth Psalm to no purpose: Whenas from the Hebrew, אשר לא־ישמע לקול מלחשים חובר חברים מחכם, if you repeat מהמה שומע לקול before חובר you may with ease and exactness render it thus; *That hears not the voice of muttering Charmers, no not the voice of a confederate Wizzard or Charmer that is skilful.* But seeing Charms, unless with them that are very shallow and sillily credulous, can have no such effects of themselves, there is all the reason in the world (according as the very word intimates, and as *Aben-Ezra* has declared) to ascribe the effect to the assistance, confederacy, and co-operation of evil Spirits, and so חובר חברים [*Chobber Chabbarim*] or חובר חבר [*Chobber Chebber*] will plainly signifie a Witch or a Wizzard according to the true definition of them. But for *J. Webster*'s rendring this verse *p.* 119. thus, *Quæ non audiet vocem mussitantium incantationes docti Incantantis*, (which he saith is doubtless the most genuine rendring of the place) let any skilful man apply it to the Hebrew Text, and he will presently find it Grammatical Nonsence. If that had been the sence, it should have been חברי חובר מחכם.

The Sixth word is, שואל אוב [*Shoel Obh*]

which

which our Englisn Translation renders, a *Consulter with familiar Spirits*; but the Septuagint Ἐγγαστρίμυθος. Which therefore must needs signifie him that has this familiar Spirit: And therefore שׁאל אוב [*Shoel Obh*] I conceive, (considering the rest of the words are so to be understood) is to be understood of the Witch or Wizzard himself that asks counsel of his Familiar, and does by vertue of him give Answers unto others. The reason of the name of אוב [*Obh*] 'tis likely was taken first from that Spirit that was in the Body of the party, and swelled it to a protuberancy like the side of a Bottle. But after, without any relation to that circumstance, *OBH* signifies as much as *Pytho*; as *Pytho* also, though at first it took its name from the *Pythii Vates*, signifies no more than *Spiritum Divinationis*, in general, a Spirit that tells hidden things or things to come. And *OBH* and *Pytho* also agree in this, that they both signifie either the divinatory Spirit itself, or the party that has that Spirit. But here in שׁאל אוב [*Shoel Obh*] it being rendred by the Septuagint Ἐγγαστρίμυθος, *OBH* is necessarily understood of the Spirit itself, as *Pytho* is *Acts* 16. 16. if you read πνεῦμα πύθωνα with *Isaac Casaubon*; but if πύθων, it may be understood either way. Of this πνεῦμα πύθων it is recorded in that place, That *Paul being grieved, turned and said to that Spirit, I command thee, in the name of*

*Jesus*

*Jesus Christ, to come out of her, and he came out at the same hour*; which signifies as plainly as any thing can be signified, that this *Pytho* or Spirit of Divination, that this *OBH* was in her: For nothing can come out of the Sack that was not in the Sack, as the *Spanish* Proverb has it; nor could this *Pytho* come out of her, unless it was a Spirit distinct from her: wherefore I am amazed at the profane impudence of *J. Webster*, that makes this *Pytho* in the Maid there mentioned, nothing but a wicked humour of cheating and cozening Divination: and adds, that this Spirit was no more cast out of that Maid, than the seven Devils out of *Mary Magdalen*, which he would have understood onely of her several Vices; which foolish Familistical conceit he puts upon *Beza*, as well as *Adie*. Wherein as he is most unjust to *Beza*, so he is most grosly impious and blasphemous against the Spirit of Christ in St. *Paul* and St. *Luke*, who makes them both such Fools as to believe that there was a Spirit or divining Devil in the Maid, when according to him there is no such thing. Can any thing be more frantick or ridiculous than this passage of St. *Paul*, if there was no Spirit or Devil in the Damsel? But what will this profane shuffler stick to do in a dear regard to his beloved Hags, of whom he is a sworn Advocate and resolved Patron right or wrong?

But to proceed, that אוב [*Obh*] signifies the Spirit

Spirit itself that divines, not onely he that has it, is manifest from *Levit.* 20. *v.* 27. *Vir autem sive mulier cùm fuerit* [בהם־אוב] *in eis Pytho.* And 1 *Sam.* ch. 28. *v.* 8. *Divina quæso mihi* [באוב] *per Pythonem.* In the Septuagint it is ἐν τῷ Ἐγγαστριμύθῳ, that is, by that Spirit that sometimes goes into the body of the party, and thence gives answers; but here it onely signifies a Familiar spirit. And lastly, בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obh*] 1 *Sam.* 28. *v.* 7. *Quæ habet Pythonem*; there *OBH* must needs signifie the Spirit it self, of which she of *Endor* was the owner or possessor; that is to say, it was her Familiar spirit. But see what brazen and stupid impudence will do, here בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obh*] with *Webster* must not signifie one that has a Familiar spirit, but the Mistriss of the Bottle. Who but the Master of the Bottle, or rather of whom the Bottle had become Master, and by guzling had made his wits excessively muddy and frothy, could ever stumble upon such a foolish Interpretation? But because אוב [*Obh*] in one place of the Scripture signifies a Bottle, it must signifie so here, and it must be the Instrument, forsooth, out of which this cheating Quean of *Endor* does *whisper, peep, or chirp like a Chicken coming out of the Shell*, p. 129. 165. And does she not, I beseech you, put her Nose also into it sometimes, as into a Reed, as it is said of that Bird, and cry like a *Butterbump*? certainly he might

as

as well have interpreted בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obh*] of the great Tun of *Heydleberg*, that *Tom. Coriat* takes such special notice of, as of the Bottle.

And truly so far as I see, it must be some such huge *Tun* at length, rather than the *Bottle*, that is, such a spacious *Tub* as he in his deviceful imagination fancies *Manasses* to have built; a μαντεῖον forsooth; or Oracular Ædifice, for *cheating Rogues and Queans to play their couzening tricks in*; from that place 2 *Chron.* 33. 6. ועשה אוב *Et fecit Pythonem.* Now, says he, how could *Manasses* make a Familiar Spirit, or make one that had a Familiar Spirit? Therefore he made a *Bottle*, a *Tun* or a large *Tub*; a μαντεῖον, or Oracular Ædifice for *cheating Rogues and Queans to play their couzening tricks in.* Very wisely argued and out of the very depth of his ignorance of the Hebrew Tongue! when as if he had lookt but into *Buxtorf*'s Dictionary, he might have understood that עשה signifies not onely *fecit*, but also *paravit*, *comparavit*, *acquisivit*, *magni fecit*, none of which words imply the making of *OBH* in his sence, but onely the appointing them to be got, and countenancing them. For in *Webster*'s sence he did not make ידעני [*Jidegnoni*] neither, that is *Wizzards*, and yet *Manasses* is said to make them both alike. ועשה אוב וידעני *Et fecit Pythonem & Magos.* So plain is it that אוב [*Obh*] signifies *Pytho*, and that adequately in the same

sence

sence that *Pytho* does, either a Familiar Spirit, or him that has that spirit of divination. But in בעלת אוב [ *Bagnalath Obh* ] it necessarily signifies the Familiar spirit itself, which assisted the Witch of *Endor*; whereby it is manifest she is rightly called a Witch. As for his Stories of counterfeit *Ventriloquists*, (and who knows but some of his counterfeit Ventriloquists may prove true ones) that is but the threadbare Sophistry of Sadducees and Atheists to elude the faith of all true stories by those that are of counterfeits or feigned.

The Seventh word is ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] which our English Translators render a *Wizzard*. And *Webster* is so kind as to allow them to have translated this word aright. *Wizzards* then *Webster* will allow, that is to say, *He-witches*, but not *She-witches*. How tender the man is of that Sex! But the word invites him to it, ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] coming from ידע *scire*, and answering exactly to *Wizzard* or Wise-man. And does not *Witch*, from *wit* and *weet*, signifie as well a *wise woman*, as I noted above? And as to the sence of those words from whence they are derived, there is no hurt therein; and therefore if that were all, ידעוני [ *Jidegnoni* ] had not been in this black List. Wherefore it is here understood in that more restrict and worst sence: so as we understand usually now adays *Witch* and *Wizzard*, such wise men and women whose skill is from the confederacy of

evil

evil Spirits, and therefore are real Wizzards and Witches.] In what a bad sence ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] is understood, we may learn from *Levit.* 20. 27. *A man also or woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizzard* [Jidegnoni] *shall be put to death, they shall stone them with stones*, &c.

The last word is דרשי המתים [*Doresh Hammethim*,] which our Translators rightly render *Necromancers*; that is, those that either upon their own account, or desired by others, do raise the Ghosts of the deceased to consult with; which is a more particular term than בעל אוב [*Bagnal Obh*:] But he that is *Bagnal Obh*, may be also *Doresh Hammethim* a *Necromancer*, as appears in the Witch of *Endor*. Here *Webster* by המתים [*Hammethim*] the *Dead*, would understand dead Statues; but let him, if he can, any where shew in all the whole Scripture where the word המתים [*Hammethim*] is used of what was not once alive. He thinks he hits the nail on the head in that place of *Isaias*, *ch.* 8. *v.* 19. *And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto* (האבות, that is, to בעלות אוב, such as the Witch of *Endor* was) *them that have familiar Spirits, and to Wizzards that peep and that mutter*; (the Hebrew has it המהגים and המצפצפים; that is, that speak with a querulous murmurant or mussitant voice, when they either conjure up the Spirit, or give responses. If this be to *peep like a Chicken*, *Isaiah* himself

peept like a Chicken, *ch.* 38.14.) *should not a people seek unto their God? for the living,* [אל המתים] *to the dead?* where *Hammethim* is so far from signifying dead Statues, that it must needs be understood of the Ghosts of dead men, as here in *Deuteronomy*. None but one that had either stupidly, or wilfully forgot the story of *Samuel's* being raised by that בעלת אוב [*Baalath Obh*] the Witch of *Endor*, could ever have the face to affirm that המתים [*Hammethim*] here in *Isaiah* is to be understood of dead Statues, when Wizzards or Necromancers were so immediately mentioned before, especially not *Webster*, who acknowledges that שואל אוב [*Shoel Obh*] signifies a Necromancer in this Deuteronomical List of abominable names. And therefore, forsooth, would have it a Tautologie that *Doresh Hammethim* should signifie so too. But I say it is no Tautologie, this last term being more express and restrict. And besides, this enumeration is not intended as an accurate Logical division of Witches or Witchcraft into so many distinct kinds, but a reciting of several names of that ill Trade, though they will interfere one with another, and have no significations so precisely distinct. But, as I said before, this fuller recounting of them is made, that the prohibition in this form might be the surer fence against the sin. And now therefore what will *J. Webster* get by this, if *Doresh Hammethim* will not signifie a

Witch

Witch of *Endor*, when it must necessarily signifie a *Necromancer*, which is as much against his Tooth as the other? Nay indeed this *Necromancer* is also a Witch or Wizzard, according to the definition produced above.

The rest of the Chapter being so inconsiderable, and I having been so long already upon it, I shall pass to the next, after I have desired you to take notice how weak and childish, or wild and impudent, Mr. *Webster* has been in the Interpretation of Scripture hitherto, in the behalf of his sage Dames, to fence off their reproach of being termed Witches; whenas there is scarce one word in this place of *Deuteronomy* that does not imply a Witch or Wizzard according to the real definition thereof. And truly he seems himself to be conscious of the weakness of his own performance, when after all this ado, the sum at last amounts but to this; That there are no Names in all the old Testament that signifie such a Witch that destroys Men or Beasts, that makes a visible compact with the Devil, or on whose body he sucketh, or with whom he hath carnal Copulation, or that is really changed into a Cat, Hare, Dog, or such like. And to shew it amounts to no more than so, was the task we undertook in this Chapter.

But assure your self, if you peruse his Book carefully, you shall plainly find that the main drift thereof is to prove, as I above noted, that

there is no ſuch Witch as with whom the Devil has any thing more to do than with any other ſinner; which notwithſtanding, this Concluſion of his a little before recited, comes infinitely ſhort of: And therefore this ſixth Chapter, conſiſting of about Thirty pages in Folio, is a mere piece of impertinency. And there will be Witches for all this, whether theſe particularities be noted in them or no: For it was ſufficient for *Moſes* to name thoſe ill ſounding terms in general, which imply a Witch according to that general notion I have above delivered; which if it be prohibited, namely the having any thing to do with evil Spirits, their being ſuckt by them, or their having any luſtful or venereous tranſactions with them, is much more prohibited.

But for ſome of theſe particularities alſo they may ſeem to be in ſome manner hinted at in ſome of the words, eſpecially as they are rendred ſometimes by skilful Interpreters: for מכשף [ *Mecaſſeph* ] is tranſlated by *Vatablus* and the vulgar Latine *Maleficus*, by the *Septuagint* φαρμακὸς, that is, *Veneficus*; which words ſignifie miſchievouſly enough both to man and beaſt. Beſides that *Mecaſſeph* carries along with it the ſignification of Transformation alſo; and haply this may be the difference betwixt מכשף [ *Mecaſſeph* ] and מעונן [ *Megnonen* ] that the former uſes preſtigious Tranſformations to ſome great miſchief, as where *Olaus*

*Olaus Magnus* tells of those that have transformed themselves into Wolves to mens thinking, and have presently fall'n upon worrying of Sheep. Others transformed in their *Astral Spirit*, into various shapes, get into Houses, and do mischief to men and children, as I remember *Remigius* reports. And therefore it is less wonder that that sharp Law of *Moses* is against the מכשפה [*Mecassephah*] such a Witch as this is, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*; this may be a more peculiar signification of that word. And now for making a compact with the Devil, how naturally does that name חובר חבר [*Chobber Chebber*] signifie that feat also? But for sucking and copulation, though rightly stated it may be true, yet I confess there is nothing hinted towards that, so far as I see, as indeed it was neither necessary that the other should be. But these are the very dregs, the *Fæx Magorum & Sagarum* that sink into those abominations, against which a sufficient Bar is put already by this prohibition of Witchcraft in general by so many names. And the other is so filthy, base, and nasty, that the mention thereof was neither fit for the sacred Style of *Moses* his Law, nor for the Ears of the People.

In my passing to the eighth Chapter I will onely take notice by the way of the shameless impudence of *J. Webster*, who in favour to his beloved Hags, that they may never be

thought to do any thing by the assistance of the Devil, makes the victory of *Moses*, with whom the mighty hand of God was, or of Christ, (who was the Angel that appeared first to *Moses* in the Bush, and conducted the Children of *Israel* out of *Ægypt* to the promised Land) to be the victory onely over so many *Hocus-pocusses*, so many Jugglers that were, as it seems, old excellent at the tricks of Legerdemain; which is the basest derogation to the glory of that Victory, and the vilest reproach against the God of *Israel* and the person of *Moses*, that either the malicious wit of any Devil can invent, or the dulness of any sunk Soul can stumble upon. Assuredly there was a real conflict here betwixt the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness and the evil Spirits thereof, which assisted the חרטמים [*Hartummim*] the Magicians of *Ægypt*; who before that name is named, that no man may mistake, are called מכשפים [*Mecassephim*] such kind of Magicians as can exhibit to the sight manifold prestigious Transformations through diabolical assistance, and are rendred *Malefici* by good Interpreters, as I noted above; that is, they were *Wizzards* or He-witches. The self same word being used in that severe Law of *Moses*, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*. Are not these Magicians then examples plain enough that there are Witches; that is to say, such wretched Wights as do strange miraculous

miraculous things by the assistance or consociation of evil Spirits.

O no, says Mr. *Webster*, these are onely חכמים [*Chacamim*] *Wise men*, and great *Naturalists*, who all what they did, they did בלהטיהם, by their bright glittering *Laminæ*, for so להטים forsooth must signifie. But what necessity thereof that להט should signifie *Lamina*? there is onely the pretence of that one place, *Gen.* 3. 24. להט החרב, where it is החרב onely that signifies the *Lamina*, and that of a long form, scarce usual in those magical *Laminæ* with Signatures celestial upon them, which *J. Webster* would be at; but להט signifies meerly *Flamma*; so that בלהטיהם by this account must signifie by their flames, if it be from להט *ardere*, *flammare*: And therefore *Buxtorfius* judiciously places the word under לוט *abscondit*, *obvolvit*, reading not בלהטיהם but בלאטיהם, which is as much as to say, *occultis suis rationibus Magicis*, which is briefly rendred in English, *by their Enchantments*; which agrees marvellously well with מכשפים [*Mecassephim*,] which is as much as *Præstigiatores Magici*, or such as do strange wonderous things in an hidden way by the help of evil Spirits. But that the *Ægyptian* Magicians should do those things that are there recorded of them in *Exodus*, by vertue of any Lamels or Plates of metal with certain Sculptures or Figures under such or such a Constellation,

is a thing ſo ſottiſh and fooliſh, that no man that is not himſelf bewitched by ſome old Hag or Hobgoblin, can ever take Sanctuary here to ſave himſelf or his old Dames from being in a capacity, from this Hiſtory in *Exodus*, of being accounted Witches. For if there may be *He-witches*, that is, *Magicians*, ſuch as theſe of *Ægypt* were, I leave *J. Webſter* to ſcratch his head to find out any reaſon why there may not be *She-witches* alſo.

And indeed that of the Witch of *Endor*, to paſs at length to the eighth Chapter, is as plain a proof thereof as can be deſired by any man whoſe mind is not blinded with prejudices. But here *J. Webſter*, not impertinently, I confeſs, for the general, (abating him the many tedious particular impertinencies that he has clogged his Diſcourſe with) betakes himſelf to theſe two ways, to ſhew there was nothing of a Witch in all that whole Narration. Firſt, by pretending that all the tranſaction on the woman of *Endor*'s part was nothing but colluſion and a Cheat, *Saul* not being in the ſame Room with her, or at leaſt ſeeing nothing if he was. And then in the next place, That *Samuel* that is ſaid to appear, could neither be *Samuel* appearing in his Body out of the Grave, nor in his Soul; nor that it was a Devil that appeared: and therefore it muſt be ſome colluding Knave ſuborned by the Witch. For the diſcovering the weakneſs of his former Allega-

tion,

tion, we need but to appeal to the Text, which is this, 1 *Sam.* 28. *v.* 8.

*And* Saul *said, I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whom I shall name unto thee,* קסום־נא לי ; that is, do the office of a Divineress or a Wise woman, I pray thee, unto me, באוב [*Beobh*] by vertue of the *familiar Spirit*, whose assistance thou hast, not by vertue of the *Bottle*; as Mr. *Webster* would have it. Does he think that Damsel in the *Acts* which is said to have had πνεῦμα πύθωνος, that is, to have had אוב [*Obh*] carried an Aquavitæ-bottle about with her, hung at her Girdle, whereby she might *divine and mutter, chirp, or peep out of it, as a Chicken out of an Egg-shell,* or put her Neb into it to cry like a *Bittern*, or take a dram of the Bottle to make her wits more quick and divinatory? Who but one that had taken too many drams of the Bottle could ever fall into such a fond conceit? Wherefore אוב [*Obh*] in this place does not, as indeed no where else, signifie an oracular Bottle or μαντεῖον, into which *Saul* might desire the woman of *Endor* to retire into, and himself expect answers in the next Room; but signifies that *familiar Spirit* by vertue of whose assistance she was conceived to perform all those wondrous offices of a Wise woman. But we proceed to verse 11.

*Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up* Samuel.

Surely

Surely as yet *Saul* and the woman are in the same Room; and being the woman askt, *Whom shall I bring up unto thee?* and he answering, *Bring up unto me* Samuel, it implies that *Samuel* was so to be brought up that *Saul* might see him, and not the Witch onely. But we go on, Verse 12.

*And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice: and the woman spake to* Saul, *saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.* Though the woman might have some suspicions before that it was *Saul*, yet she now seeing *Samuel* did appear, and in another kind of way than her Spirits used to do, and in another hue, as it is most likely so holy a Soul did, she presently cried out with a loud voice, (*not muttered, chirpt, and peept as a Chicken coming out of the Shell*) that now she was sure it was *Saul*: For she was not such a Fool as to think her Art could call up real *Samuel*, but that the presence of *Saul* was the cause thereof: And *Josephus* writes expressly, Ὅτι Θεασάμενον τὸ γυναῖον ἄνδρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ ταράττεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπλαγὲν, ὃ σὺ, φησὶν, ὁ Βασιλεὺς Σαοὺλ; *i. e. The woman seeing a grave God like man, is startled at it, and thus astonished at the Vision, turned her self to the King, and said, Art not thou King* Saul? *Verse* 13.

*And the King said unto her, Be not afraid: for what sawest thou? And the woman said unto* Saul, *I saw Gods ascending out of the Earth.*

The

The King here assures the woman, that though he was *Saul*, yet no hurt should come to her, and therefore bids her not be afraid: But she turning her face to *Saul*, as she spake to him, and he to her, and so her sight being off from the object, *Saul* asked her, *What sawest thou?* and she in like manner answered, *I saw Gods*, &c. For Gods I suppose any free Translator in Greek, Latine and English would say, δαίμονας, *Genios*, Spirits. And אלהים signifies Angels as well as Gods; and it is likely these Wise women take the Spirits they converse with to be good Angels, as *Anne Bodenham* the Witch told a worthy and Learned Friend of mine, That these Spirits, such as she had, were good Spirits, and would do a man all good offices all the days of his life; and it is likely this woman of *Endor* had the same opinion of hers, and therefore we need not wonder that she calls them אלהים [*Elohim*] especially *Samuel* appearing among them, to say nothing of the presence of *Saul*. And that more than one Spirit appears at a time, there are repeated examples in *Anne Bodenham*'s Magical Evocations of them, whose History, I must confess, I take to be very true.

The case stands therefore thus: The Woman and *Saul* being in the same Room, she turning her face from *Saul*, mutters to her self some Magical form of evocation of Spirits; whereupon they beginning to appear and rise

up,

up, seemingly out of the Earth, upon the sight of *Samuels* Countenance, she cried out to *Saul*, and turning her face towards him spoke to him. Now that *Saul* hitherto saw nothing, though in the same Room, might be either because the body of the woman was interposed betwixt his eyes and them, or the Vehicles of those Spirits were not yet attempered to that consistation that they would strike the eyes of *Saul*, though they did of the Witch. And that some may see an Object others not seeing it; you have an instance in the Child upon *Walker's* Shoulders appearing to Mr. *Fairhair*, and, it may be, to the Judge, but invisible to the rest of the Court; and many such examples there are: But I proceed to *Verse* 14.

*And he said unto her, What form is he of? and she said, An old man cometh up, and is covered with a mantle.* He asks here in the Singular number, because his mind was onely fixt on *Samuel*. And the womans answer is exactly according to what the Spirit appeared to her, when her eye was upon it, *viz.* איש זקן עלה *An old man coming up*; for he was but coming up when she looked upon him, and accordingly describes him: For עלה there is a Participle of the present Tense, and the woman describes *Samuel* from his Age, Habit, and motion he was in, while her eye was upon him. So that the genuine sense and Grammatical in this answer to, *What form is he of?* is this, an old

old man coming up, and the ſame covered with a mantle, this is his form and condition I ſaw him in. Wherefore *Saul* being ſo much concerned herein, either the woman or he changing their poſtures or ſtandings, or *Samuel* by this having ſufficiently conſpiſſated his Vehicle and fitted it to *Saul*'s ſight alſo, it follows in the Text, *And* Saul *perceived it was* Samuel, *and he ſtooped with his face to the ground and bowed himſelf.*

O the impudent profaneneſs and ſottiſhneſs of perverſe ſhufflers and whifflers, that upon the hearing of this paſſage can have the face to deny that *Saul* ſaw any thing, and merely becauſe the word [*perceived*] is uſed, and not [*ſaw;*] when the word [*perceived*] plainly implies that he ſaw *Samuel*, and ſomething more, namely, that by his former familiar converſe with him, he was aſſured it was he. So exquiſitely did he appear and overcomingly to his ſenſes, that he could not but *acknowledge* (for ſo the Hebrew word ידע ſignifies) that it was he, or elſe why did he ſtoop with his Face to the very Ground to do him honour?

No no, ſays *J. Webſter*, he ſaw nothing himſelf, but ſtood waiting like a drowned Puppet (ſee of what a baſe rude ſpirit this Squire of Hags is, to uſe ſuch language of a Prince in his diſtreſs) in another Room, to hear what would be the iſſue; for all that he underſtood

was

was from her cunning and lying relations. That this Gallant of Witches ſhould dare to abuſe a Prince thus, and feign him as much fooliſher and ſottiſher in his *Intellectuals* as he was taller in *Stature* than the reſt of the people even by head and ſhoulders, and merely, forſooth, to ſecure his old Wives from being ſo much as in a capacity of ever being ſuſpected for Witches, is a thing extreamly coarſe, and intolerably ſordid. And indeed upon the conſideration of *Saul*'s being ſaid to bow himſelf to *Samuel*, (which plainly implies that there was there a *Samuel* that was the object of his ſight and of the reverence he made) his own heart miſgives him in this mad adventure. And he ſhifts off from thence to a conceit that it was a confederate Knave that the woman of *Endor* turned out into the room where *Saul* was, to act the part of *Samuel*, having firſt put on him her own ſhort Cloak, which ſhe uſed with her maund under her arm to ride to Fairs or Markets in. To this Country-ſlouch in the womans Mantle, muſt King *Saul*, ſtooping with his face to the very ground, make his profound obeyſance. What, was a Market-womans Cloak and *Samuel*'s Mantle, which *Joſephus* calls διπλοίδα ἱερατικὴν, a *Sacerdotal habit*, ſo like one another? Or if not, how came this woman, being ſo ſurprized of a ſuddain, to provide her ſelf of ſuch a Sacerdotal habit to cloak her confederate Knave in? Was *Saul* as well

a *blind* as a *drowned* Puppet, that he could not discern so gross and bold an Imposture as this? Was it possible that he should not perceive that it was not *Samuel* when they came to confer together, as they did? How could that confederate Knave change his own Face into the same figure, look, and mien that *Samuel* had, which was exactly known to *Saul*? How could he imitate his Voice thus of a suddain, and they discourſed a very considerable time together?

Besides, Knaves do not use to speak what things are true, but what things are pleasing. And moreover, this woman of *Endor*, though a Pythoness, yet she was of a very good nature and benign, which *Josephus* takes notice of, and extols her mightily for it, and therefore she could take no delight to lay further weight on the oppressed Spirit of distressed King *Saul*; which is another sign that this Scene was acted *bonâ fide*, and that there was no couzening in it. As also that is another; that she spoke so magnificently of what appeared to her, that she saw *Gods* ascending. Could she then possibly adventure to turn out a Country-slouch with a Maund-womans Cloak to act the part of so God-like and divine a Personage as *Samuel*, who was Θεῷ τῳ μορφῳ ὅμοιον, as the woman describes him in *Josephus* Antiqu. Judaic. *lib.* 7. *c.* 15. Unto all which you may add, That the Scripture itself, which was written by

Inspira-

Inspiration, says expresly, *v.* 20. that it was *Samuel*. And the son of *Sirach*, ch. 46. that *Samuel* himself propheſyed after his death, referring to this story of the woman of *Endor*. But for our new-inspired Seers, or Saints, S. *Scot*, S. *Adie*, and if you will S. *Webster* sworn Advocate of the Witches, who thus madly and boldly, against all sense and reason, against all antiquity, all Interpreters, and against the inspired Scripture itself, will have no *Samuel* in this Scene, but a cunning confederate Knave, whether the inspired Scripture, or these *inblown* Buffoons, puffed up with nothing but ignorance, vanity, and stupid infidelity, are to be believed, let any one judge.

We come now to his other Allegation, wherein we shall be brief, we having exceeded the measure of a Postscript already. *It was neither* Samuel's *Soul*, says he, *joyned with his Body, nor his Soul out of his Body, nor the Devil; and therefore it must be some confederate Knave suborned by that cunning cheating Quean of* Endor. But I briefly answer, it was the Soul of *Samuel* himself; and that it is the fruitfulness of the great ignorance of *J. Webster* in the sound Principles of Theosophy and true Divinity, that has enabled him to heap together no less than Ten Arguments to disprove this Assertion, and all little to the purpose: So little indeed, that I think it little to the purpose particularly to answer them, but

shall

shall hint onely some few Truths which will rout the whole band of them.

I say therefore, that departed Souls, as other Spirits, have an ἀυτεξούσιον in them, such as Souls have in this life; and have both a faculty and a right to move of themselves, provided there be no expres Law against such or such a design to which their motion tends.

Again, That they have a Power of appearing in their own personal shapes to whom there is occasion, as *Anne Walker*'s Soul did to the Miller; and that this being a faculty of theirs either natural or acquirable, the doing so is no miracle. And

Thirdly, That it was the strong piercing desire, and deep distres, and agony of mind in *Saul*, in his perplexed circumstances, and the great compassion and goodnes of Spirit in the holy Soul of *Samuel*, that was the effectual Magick that drew him to condescend to converse with *Saul* in the womans house at *Endor*; as a keen sense of Justice and Revenge made *Anne Walker*'s Soul appear to the Miller with her five Wounds in her head.

The rigid and harsh severity that *Webster* fancies *Samuel*'s Ghost would have used against the woman, or sharp reproofs to *Saul*; As for the latter, it is somewhat expressed in the Text, and *Saul* had his excuse in readines, and the good Soul of *Samuel* was sensible of his perplexed condition. And as for the former, sith

the Soul of *Samuel* might indeed have terrified the poor woman, and so unhinged her, that she had been fit for nothing after it, but not converted her, it is no wonder if he passed her by; Goodness and Forbearance more befitting an holy Angelical Soul, than bluster and fury, such as is fancied by that rude Goblin that actuates the Body and Pen of *Webster*.

As for departed Souls, that they never have any care or regard to any of their fellow-Souls here upon Earth, is expresly against the known example of that great Soul, and universal Pastor of all good Souls, who appeared to *Stephen* at his stoning, and to S. *Paul* before his Conversion, though then in his glorified Body; which is a greater condescension than this of the Soul of *Samuel*, which was also to a Prince, upon whose shoulders lay the great affairs of the People of *Israel*: To omit that other notable example of the Angel *Raphael* so called, (from his office at that time, or from the Angelical Order he was adopted into after his death) but was indeed the Soul of *Azarias* the son of *Ananias* the Great, and of *Tobit*'s Brethren, *Tobit* ch. 5. 12. Nor does that which occurs, *Tob.* 12. 15. at all clash with what we have said, if rightly understood: for his saying, *I am* Raphael *one of the seven holy Angels which present the prayers of the Saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One*, in the Cabbalistick sence signifies no more than

than thus, That he was one of the universal ſociety of the holy Angels, (and a *Raphael* in the Order of the *Raphaels*) which miniſter to the Saints, and reinforce the Prayers of good and holy men by joyning thereto their own; and as they are moved by God, miniſter to their neceſſities, unprayed to themſelves, which would be an abomination to them, but extream prone to ſecond the Petitions of holy ſincere ſouls, and forward to engage in the accompliſhing of them, as a truly good man would ſooner relieve an indigent creature, overhearing him making his moan to God in Prayer, than if he begged Alms of himſelf, though he might do that without ſin. This Cabbaliſtical account, I think, is infinitely more probable, than that *Raphael* told a downright lye to *Tobit*, in ſaying he was the ſon of *Ananias* when he was not. And be it ſo, will *J. Webſter* ſay, what is all this to the purpoſe, when the Book of *Tobit* is Apocryphal, and conſequently of no Authority? What of no Authority? certainly of infinitely more Authority than Mr. *Wagſtaf*, Mr. *Scot*, and Mr. *Adie*, that Mr. *Webſter* ſo frequently and reverently quoteth.

I but, will he further add, theſe Apparitions were made to good and holy men, or to *elect Veſſels*; but King *Saul* was a *wretched Reprobate*. This is the third liberal badge of honour that this ill-bred Advocate of the Witches has

bestowed on a distressed Prince. First, a *drowned Puppet*, p. 170. then a *distracted Bedlam*, in the same Page, which I passed by before; and now, a *wretched Reprobate*: But assuredly *Saul* was a brave Prince and Commander, as *Josephus* justly describes him, and Reprobate onely in Type, as *Ismael* and *Esau*; which is a mystery, it seems, that *J. Webster* was not aware of. And therefore no such wonder that the Soul of *Samuel* had such a kindness for him, as to appear to him in the depth of his distress, to settle his mind, by telling him plainly the upshot of the whole business, that he should lose the Battle, and he and his Sons be slain, that so he might give a specimen of the bravest Valour that ever was atchieved by any Commander, in that he would not suffer his Countrey to be over-run by the Enemy, while he was alive, without resistance; but though he knew certainly he should fail of success, and he and his Sons dye in the fight, yet in so just and honourable a Cause as the defence of his Crown and his Countrey, would give the Enemy battle in the Field, and sacrifice his own Life for the safety of his People. Out of the knowledge of which noble spirit in *Saul*, and his resolved valour in this point, those words haply may come from *Samuel*, *To morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me*, (as an auspicious insinuation of their favourable reception into the other world)

in

in מחיצת צדקים *in thalamo justorum*, as *Munster* has noted out of the *Rabbins*.

Lastly, as for that weak imputation that this opinion of its being *Samuel*'s soul that appeared, is Popish, that is very Plebeianly and Idiotically spoken, as if every thing that the Popish party are for, were Popish. We divide our zeal against so many things that we fancy Popish, that we scarce reserve a just share of detestation against what is truly so: Such as are that gross, rank, and scandalous impossibility of *Transubstantiation*, the various modes of fulsome *Idolatry* and lying *Impostures*, the *Uncertainty* of their *Loyalty* to their lawful Soveraigns by their superstitious adhesion to the spiritual Tyranny of the Pope, and that barbarous and ferine *Cruelty* against those that are not either such fools as to be perswaded to believe such things as they would obtrude upon men, or are not so false to God and their own Consciences, as knowing better, yet to profess them.

As for that other opinion, that the greater part of the reformed Divines hold, That it was the Devil that appeared in *Samuel*'s shape; and though *Grotius* also seems to be enclined thereto, alledging that passage of *Porphyrius*, *De Abstinentia Animalium*, where he describes one kind of Spirit to be, Γένος ἀσωματηλῆς φυσέως, πανταμορφόντε καὶ πολύτροπον, ὑποκεινόμενον καὶ θεὸς καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ψυχὰς τεθνηκότων. (which is,

I confess, very apposite to this story; nor do doubt but that in many of these Necromantick Apparitions, they are ludicrous Spirits, not the Souls of the deceased that appear) yet I am clear for the appearing of the Soul of *Samuel* in this story, from the reasons above alledged, and as clear that in other Necromancies it may be the Devil, or such kind of Spirits as *Porphyrius* above describes, *that change themselves into omnifarious forms and shapes, and one while act the parts of* Daemons, *another while of* Angels *or* Gods, *and another while of the Souls of the deceased*; And I confess such a spirit as this might personate *Samuel* here, for any thing *Webster* has alledged to the contrary. For his Arguments indeed are wonderfully weak and woodden, as may be understood out of what I have hinted concerning the former opinion. But I cannot further particularize now.

For I have made my *Postscript* much longer than my Letter, before I was aware; and I need not enlarge to you, who are so well versed in these things already, and can by the quickness of your parts presently collect the whole measure of *Hercules* by his Foot, and sufficiently understand by this time it is no rash censure of mine in my Letter, That *Webster*'s Book is but a weak impertinent piece of work, the very Master-piece thereof being so weak and impertinent, and falling so short of the scope he aims it, which was really to prove that there

was

was no such thing as a Witch or Wizzard, that is, not any mention thereof, in Scripture, by any name *of one that had more to do with the Devil, or the Devil with him, than with other wicked men*; that is to say, of one who in vertue of Covenant either implicit or explicit did strange things by the help of evil Spirits, but *that there are many sorts of Deceivers and Impostors, and diverse persons, under a passive delusion of Melancholy and Fancy*, which is part of his very Title-page.

Whereby he does plainly insinuate, there is nothing but Couzenage or Melancholy in the whole business of the feats of Witches. But a little to mitigate or smother the grossness of this false Assertion, he adds, *And that there is no corporeal League betwixt the Devil and the Witch; and that he does not suck on the Witches body, nor has carnal Copulation with her, nor the Witches are turned into Dogs or Cats*, &c. All which things, as you may see in his Book, he understands in the grossest manner imaginable, as if the Imps of Witches had Mouths of flesh to suck them, and Bodies of flesh to lye with them. And at this rate he may understand a *corporeal* League, as if it were no League or Covenant, unless some Lawyer drew the instrument, and engrossed it in Vellum or thick Parchment, and there were so many Witnesses with the Hand and Seal of the party: nor any Transformation into Dogs or Cats, unless

it were real and corporeal, or grosly carnal; which none of his *Witchmongers*, as he rudely and slovenly calls that learned and serious person Dr. *Casaubon* and the rest, do believe. Onely it is a disputable case of their *bodily* Transformation, betwixt *Bodinus* and *Remigius*; of which more in my *Scholia*. But that without this carnal transmutation a woman might not be accounted a Witch, is so fooliſh a supposition, that *Webster* himself certainly must be ashamed of it.

Wherefore if his Book be writ onely to prove there is no such thing as a Witch that covenants in Parchment with the Devil by the advice of a Lawyer, and is really and carnally turned into a Dog, Cat, or Hare, &c. and with carnal lips fucked by the Devil, and is one with whom the Devil lies carnally; the scope thereof is manifestly impertinent, when neither Dr. *Casaubon* nor any one else holds any such thing. But as for the true and adequate notion of a Witch or Wizzard, such as at first I described, his Arguments all of them are too too weak or impertinent, as to the disproving the existence of such a Witch as this, who betwixt his *Deceivers*, *Impostours*, and *Melancholists* on one hand, and those *gross Witches* he describes, on the other hand, goes away shere as a Hare in a green balk betwixt two Lands of Corn, none of his Arguments reaching her or getting the sight of her, himself in the

mean

mean time ſtanding on one ſide amongſt the *Deceivers* and *Impoſtours*, his Book, as to the main deſign he drives at, being a mere *Cheat* and *Impoſtour*.

C. C. C. *May* 25.
1678.

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

THis Letter of Dr. *Moor* being left amongſt other Papers appertaining to this new-intended Edition by Mr. *Glanvil*, and I perceiving in a Letter of his to the Doctor that he had a mind this Letter ſhould be publiſhed together with his Book, it is done accordingly, and prefixed at the beginning thereof, as natural Method requires, the *Letter* being hortatory to quicken Mr. *Glanvil* to diſpatch his intended new Edition for the undeceiving of the World, and the *Poſtſcript* containing many things of a general influence upon the whole Book. But that the Doctor may ſuffer no prejudice through this publiſhing of his *Letter* and *Poſtſcript*, from the ſharpneſs and ſatyricalneſs of them in ſome places, I ſhall for the more rightly underſtanding his meaning in the uſing that mode of writing upon this occaſion, tranſcribe a paſſage of a Letter of his

to

to his friend Mr. *Glanvil*, relating thereto. *I pray you ſend me word whether that* Poſtſcript *will not meet with all the eluſory cavils of that profane Buffoon, upon thoſe places of holy Scripture: his unworthy uſage of the Holy Writ, and his deriſorious Interpretations of it in the behalf of his beloved Hags, provoked my indignation to ſuch Schemes of deriding and expoſing him, as otherwiſe I ſhould never have condeſcended to.* This is a ſufficient Teſtimony of the Doctor's averſneſs from ſuch manner of writing. But as Divines tell us, that Anger and Puniſhment are God's *Opus alienum*, his ſtrange work, as being more abhorrent from his nature; but yet for the good of the Univerſe he ſteps out ſometimes into that diſpenſation: ſo I think it not misbecoming good men, ſometimes to condeſcend, as the Doctor calls it, to the chaſtiſing prophane Drolls and Abuſers of holy things, by a juſt deriſion and ſatyrical reprehenſion for their freakiſh and impious ſaucineſs, provided it be done ſincerely, and for the publick good.

*Sadu-*

# *Saduciſmus Triumphatus:*

OR,

Full and plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

# WITCHES

AND

# APPARITIONS.

The Firſt PART thereof conteining

Philoſophical Conſiderations

Which defend their

# POSSIBILITY.

Whereunto is added,

The true and genuine NOTION, and conſiſtent Explication of the Nature

OF A

# SPIRIT,

For the more full Confirmation of the POSSIBILITY of their EXISTENCE.

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*LONDON*: Printed, 1681.

# WITCHES.

# To the Illuſtrious

# CHARLES

## DUKE of

## *Richmond* and *Lenox.*

*My* LORD,

YOUR Grace *having been pleaſed to command the* firſt, *and more imperfect, Edition of this Diſcourſe, I have preſumed that your Candour will accept the Draught that hath had my laſt hand upon it. And though I am not fond enough to phancy any* Art *or* Ornament *in the compoſure to recommend it; yet, I know, the* Eſſay *is* ſeaſonable, *and contains things which relate to our* biggeſt *Intereſts; the deſign being to ſecure ſome of the* Out-works *of* Religion, *and to regain a parcel of ground which* bold *Infidelity hath* invaded. *And, my Lord, I cannot but obſerve* ſadly, *that while the* Sects *are venting their* Animoſities *againſt each other, and ſcrambling for their* Conceits, *and the* particular *advantages of their way, they per-*

*ceive*

*ceive not that* Atheiſm *comes on by large ſtrides, and enters the* Breaches *they have made. Sober and conſiderate men ſee the* formidable danger, *and ſome of them have ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to maintain the Walls, while the factions within are ſo* buſie *and ſo* divided, *that they cannot attend the deſperate hazard, and will not joyn in a* Common Defence. *Among thoſe generous* Defendants *I deſire to* pitch, *and have undertaken to make good one of the* Forts *upon which the Enemy hath made* impetuous *Aſſaults, and I hope with no contemptible ſucceſs.*

*For my part, my Lord, I am very little concerned for the ſmall* pedlaries *that ſome mens* fondneſs *calls* Religion, *by which that* ſacred *thing hath been expoſed to a great deal of* contempt *and* diſhonour. *But yet I think it my duty to have a zeal for thoſe* great *and* certain *matters upon which our hopes in an* other world *are* grounded: *And that our expectations of a* future Being, *are not* imaginary *and* fantaſtick, *we have* reaſonable *evidence enough from the* Attributes *of* God, *the* Phænomena *of* Providence, *and the* nature *of our* Souls, *to convince* any, *but thoſe who will* ſtupidly *believe that they ſhall* dye *like* Beaſts, *that they may* live like them. *I confeſs the* Philoſophick Arguments *that are produced for the* deſirable *Article, though very* cogent, *are many of them* ſpeculative *and* deep, *requiring ſo great an* attention *and* ſagacity, *that they take no hold upon the* whiffling *ſpirits,*

*that*

*that are not used to* consider; *nor upon the* common *sort, that cannot reach such* heights *of* Argument: *But they are* both *best convinced by the proofs that come neareſt the* ſence, *which indeed ſtrike our minds* fulleſt, *and leave the moſt* laſting *impreſſions*; *whereas high Speculations being more* thin *and* ſubtile, *eaſily* ſlide off *even from underſtandings that are moſt capable to receive them. For this reaſon, among ſome others, I appear thus much concerned for the juſtification of the belief of* Witches, *it ſuggeſting* palpable *and current evidence of our* Immortality, *which I am exceedingly* ſollicitous *to have made good.*

*For really, my Lord, if we make our computes like* Men, *and do not ſuffer our ſelves to be abuſed by the* flatteries *of* ſenſe, *and the* deceitful gayeties *that ſteal us away from* God, *and from* our ſelves, *there is nothing can render the thoughts of this* odd life *tolerable, but the* expectation *of another. And* wiſe *men have ſaid, that they would not live a* moment, *if they thought they were not to* live again. *This perhaps ſome may take to be the diſcontented* Paradox *of a* melancholick, vext *and of* mean *condition, that is* pinched *by the ſtraitneſs of* fortune, *and envies the* heights *of others* felicity *and* grandeurs; *But by that time thoſe that judge ſo, have ſpent the* heats *of* frolick *youth, and have paſt over the ſeveral* ſtages *of* vanity; *when they come to ſit down, and make ſober reflections upon their*

plea-

pleaſures *and* purſuits, *and ſum up the accompt of all that is with them, and before them, I doubt not but their* conſidering *thoughts will make* Solomon's Concluſion, *and find, that 'tis but a* miſery *to* live, *if we were to* live *for* nothing elſe. *So that if the* content *of the* preſent life *were all I were to have for the* hopes *of* Immortality, *I ſhould* even *upon* that account *be very unwilling to believe that I was* mortal: *For certainly the* pleaſures *that reſult from the thoughts of* another *world in thoſe that not onely ſee it* painted *in their* imaginations, *but* feel *it begun in their* Souls, *are as far beyond all the* titillations *of* ſenſe, *as a* real laſting happineſs *is beyond the* deluſive Images *of a* Dream. *And therefore they that think to ſecure the injoyment of their* pleaſures *by the* infamy *of our* natures *in the overthrow of our future* hopes, *indeavour to dam up the* Fountain *of the* fulleſt *and* cleaneſt delights; *and ſeek for* limpid *waters in the* ſinks *and* puddles *of the ſtreets.*

*You ſee, my Lord, how my zeal for this mighty intereſt tranſports me to a greater length in this addreſs, than perhaps may conſiſt with* ſtrict decorum; *and I indulge my Pen the rather in this* licence, *becauſe poſſibly your Grace's name may draw ſome eyes hither that have* need *of ſuch* ſuggeſtions, *and thoſe that have not* need *a great deal more. It cannot be proper to add here thoſe large accounts which would be requiſite in a deſign of full conviction: But for the preſent, if they*

*ſhall*

*ſhall pleaſe to look forward, they may likely meet* ſome *things not unfit for their ſerious thoughts; and I intend to take a ſeaſon to preſent them* others, *more particularly ſuitable to what I* know *is as much their* intereſt, *as I doubt it is their* want.

*But, my Lord, I fear I am* importunate, *and beſeech your Grace to pardon the boldneſs of*

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt obedient Servant,

*Joſ. Glanvil.*

# Preface.

THere are a ſort of *narrow* and *confin'd Spirits*, who account all Diſcourſes *needleſs*, that are not for their particular *purpoſes*; and judge all the world to be of the *ſize* and *Genius* of thoſe within the *Circle* of their Knowledge and Acquaintance; ſo that with a *pert* and *pragmatique Inſolence*, they cenſure all the *braver Deſigns* and *Notices* that lie beyond their Ken, as *nice* and *impertinent Speculations*: an *ignorant* and *proud Injuſtice*; as if this ſort were the onely perſons, whoſe humour and needs ſhould be conſulted. And hence it comes to paſs, that the *greateſt* and *worthieſt* things that are written or ſaid, do always meet with the moſt general *neglect* and *ſcorn*, ſince the *leſſer people*, for whom they were not intended, are quick to *ſhoot* their *bolt*, and to condemn what they do not *underſtand*, and *becauſe* they *do* not. Whereas on the other ſide, thoſe that are able to *judge* and would *incourage*, are commonly *reſerv'd* and *modeſt* in their *ſentences*; or, if they ſhould ſeek to do right to things that are worthy, they are ſure to be out-voiced by the *rout* of *ignorant* contemners. Upon which accounts I have often thought that he that courts and values *popular* eſtimation, takes not

the right way if he endeavour any thing that is *really excellent:* but he muſt ſtudy the *little plauſibilities*, and accommodate the humour of the *MANY*, who are *active Miniſters* of *Fame*, being *zealous* and *loud* in their *applauſes*, as they are *clamorous* and *impetuous* in their *oppoſitions*. As for *theſe*, 'tis one of my chief cares to make my ſelf as much unconcern'd at their *Cenſures*, as I am at the *cacklings of a flock of Geeſe*, or at the *eager* diſpleaſure of thoſe little *ſnarling Animals*, that are *angry* when I go along the ſtreets. Nor can any man be either *wiſe* or *happy*, till he hath arrived to that *greatneſs* of *mind*, that no more conſiders the *tattling* of the *multitude* than the *whiſtling* of the *wind*. Not that I think the *common* people are to be contemned for the *weakneſs* of their *underſtandings*; 'tis an *inſolent meanneſs* of *ſpirit* that doth *that:* but when *conceited* ignorance ſits down in the *Judgment-ſeat*, and gives *peremptory Verdicts* upon things beyond its *Line*, the *wiſe man ſmiles* and *paſſeth by*. For ſuch (if *that* may ſignifie any thing to keep them from troubling themſelves about the following *CONSIDERATIONS*) I deſire they would take notice from *me*, that I writ not thoſe things for ſuch as *they*; and they will do well to throw up the Book upon this *Advertiſement*, except they will ſtay to hear, That though *Philoſophical* Diſcourſes to juſtifie the common belief about *Witches*, are nothing at

all

all to *them*, or thoſe of *their meaſure*; yet they are too *ſeaſonable* and *neceſſary* for our *Age*, in which *Atheiſm* is begun in *Sadduciſm*: And thoſe that dare not bluntly ſay, *There is NO GOD*, content themſelves (for a fair *ſtep* and *Introduction*) to deny there are *SPIRITS*, or *WITCHES*. Which ſort of *Infidels*, though they are not ordinary among the *meer vulgar*, yet are they numerous in a little higher rank of *underſtandings*. And thoſe that know any thing of the world, know, that moſt of the looſer *Gentry*, and the ſmall pretenders to *Philoſophy* and *Wit*, are generally deriders of the *belief of Witches* and *Apparitions*. And were this a ſlight or mere ſpeculative miſtake, I ſhould not trouble my ſelf or them about it. But I fear this errour hath a *Core* in it that is worſe than *Hereſie*: and therefore how little ſoever I care what men *believe* or *teach* in matters of *Opinion*, I think I have reaſon to be concern'd in an affair that toucheth ſo near upon the greateſt intereſts of Religion. And really I am aſtoniſht ſometimes to think into what a kind of *Age* we are fallen, in which ſome of the *greateſt impieties* are accounted but *Bugs*, and *terrible Names*, *inviſible Tittles*, Peccadillo's, or Chimera's. The ſad and greateſt inſtances, are *SACRILEDGE*, *REBELLION*, and *WITCHCRAFT*. For the two former, there are a ſort of men (that are far from being profeſt Enemies to

Religion) who, I do not know whether they *own* any ſuch vices. We find no mention of them in their moſt particular *Confeſſions*, nor have I obſerved them in thoſe Sermons that have contained the largeſt *Catalogues* of the *Sins* of our *Age* and *Nation*. *'Twere dangerous to ſpeak of them as ſins, for fear who ſhould be found guilty.* But my buſineſs at preſent is not with *theſe*, but the other, *WITCHCRAFT*, which I am ſure was a *Sin* of elder times; and how comes it about that our *Age*, which ſo much outdoes them in all other kinds of *wickedneſs*, ſhould be wholly *innocent* in this? That there *MAY* be *WITCHES* and *Apparitions* in our days, notwithſtanding the *Objections* of the *modern Sadduce*, I believe I have made appear in the CONSIDERATIONS following; in which I did not primarily intend direct *Proof*, but *DEFENCE*, as the Title of the *firſt Edition*, which is reſtor'd in *theſe later* mention'd.

And if it ſhould be *objected*, That I have for the moſt part uſed onely *ſuppoſals* and *conjectural* things in the *vindication* of the *common* belief, and ſpeak with no *point-blank aſſurance* in my *particular* Anſwers, as I do in the *general* Concluſion; I need onely ſay, That the *Propoſition* I *defend* is *matter* of *fact*, which the *disbelievers* impugne by alledging that it *cannot be*, or *it is not likely*: In return to which, if I ſhew how thoſe things *may be*, and *probably*,

*bly*, notwithstanding their *allegations*, though I say not downright that they are in the particular way I offer, yet 'tis enough for the design of *Defence*, though not for that of *Proof*: for when one saith a thing *cannot be*, and I tell him how possibly *it may*, though I hit not the just *manner* of it, I yet defeat the *Objection* against it, and make way for the *evidence* of the thing *de Facto*; which now I have added from the *Divine Oracles*, and two *Modern Relations* that are *clear* and *unexceptionable*.

I have no humour nor delight in telling Stories, and do not publish *these* for the gratification of those that have; but I record them as *Arguments* for the *confirmation* of a Truth which hath indeed been attested by multitudes of the like Evidences in all places and times. But things *remote*, or *long past*, are either not *believed* or *forgotten*: whereas *these* being *fresh* and *near*, and attended with all the circumstances of *credibility*, it may be expected they should have the more success upon the *obstinacy* of *Unbelievers*.

But after all this, I must confess, there is one *Argument* against me, which is not to be dealt with, *viz.* a *mighty confidence* grounded upon *nothing*, that *swaggers*, and *huffs*, and *swears* there are no **Witches.** For such *Philosophers* as *these*, let them enjoy the *Opinion* of their own *Superlative Judgements*, and en-

ter me in the first rank of *Fools* for crediting my *Senses*, and those of all the World, before their *sworn* Dictates. If they will believe in *Scott*, *Hobbes*, and *Osborne*, and think *them* more *infallible* than the *Sacred* Oracles, the *History* of all Ages, and the *full experience* of our *own*, who can help it? They must not be *contradicted*, and they are resolved not to be *perswaded*. For this sort of men, I never go about to convince them of any thing. If I can avoid it, I throw nothing before them, lest they should *turn again*, and *rend me*. Their *Opinions* came into their *Heads* by *chance*, when their *little reasons* had no *notice* of their *entrance*; and they must be let alone to go out again of themselves, the same way they entred. Therefore not to make much noise to disturb these *infallible Huffers* (and they cannot hear a *little* for their *own*) I softly step by them, leaving onely this whisper behind me; That though their *worshipful ignorance* and *sottishness* can relish nothing of a Discourse that doth not minister to *Sensuality* and *Unbelief*, yet my *CONSIDERATIONS* have had the good fortune of a *better* reception from the *braver* and more *generous* Spirits, than my fondest hopes could have expected; and persons whose good thoughts I have reason to value, have assured me that their *kindness* to my Book hath improved upon *second* and more *careful* perusals: which

I mention for this purpoſe, that *thoſe* that *need* my *Remarques*, and cannot *feel* them in a *running reading*, may pleaſe to turn their eyes back, and *deliberately* think over what I have offered; from which courſe I dare promiſe them more *ſatisfaction* than from their *haſte*.

*Bath* June 8.
1668.

*J. G.*

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SOME

ROME

# SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT Witchcraft.

In a LETTER to

ROBERT HUNT, Esq;

## SECT. I.

SIR,

THE *frequent* and *late* dealings you have had in the *Examination* of *Witches*, and the regards of one that hath a very particular honour for you, have brought you the trouble of some CONSIDERATIONS on the Subject. And though what I have to say, be but the unaccurate product of a little leisure; yet I hope it may afford you some, not unreasonable, accounts of the odd *Phænomena* of *Witchcraft* and *Fascination*, and contribute to the DEFENCE of the

*Truth*,

*Truth* and *certainty* of matters, which you *know* by *Experiments* that could not *deceive*, in ſpite of the *petty exceptions* of thoſe that are reſolved to believe nothing in affairs of this nature.

And if any thing were to be much *admired* in an Age of *Wonders*, not onely of *Nature*, (which is a *conſtant Prodigie*) but of *Men* and *Manners*; it would be to me matter of *aſtoniſhment*, that *Men*, otherwiſe *witty* and *ingenious*, are fallen into the conceit that there is no ſuch *thing* as a *Witch* or *Apparition*, but that theſe are the creatures of *Melancholy* and *Superſtition*, foſter'd by *ignorance* and *deſign*; which comparing the *confidence* of their *disbelief* with the *evidence* of the *things denied*, and the weakneſs of their *grounds*, would almoſt ſuggeſt that themſelves are an *Argument* of what they *deny*; and that ſo confident an opinion could not be held upon ſuch inducements, but by ſome kind of *Witchcraft* and *Faſcination* in the *Fancy*. And perhaps that *evil Spirit* whoſe *influences* they will not allow in actions aſcribed to ſuch Cauſes, hath a greater hand and intereſt in their *Propoſition* than they are aware of. For that ſubtile Enemy of Mankind (ſince *Providence* will not permit him to miſchief us without our own *concurrence*) attempts that by *ſtratagem* and *artifice*, which he could never effect by *open* ways of acting; and the ſucceſs of all *wiles* depending upon their *ſecrecy* and

*conceal-*

*concealment*, his *influence* is never more *dangerous* than when his *agency* is leaſt *ſuſpected*. In order therefore to the carrying on the *dark* and *hidden deſigns* he manageth againſt our happineſs and our Souls, he cannot expect to advantage himſelf more, than by inſinuating a belief, *That there is no ſuch thing as himſelf*, but that *fear* and *fancy* make *Devils* now, as they did *Gods* of old. Nor can he ever draw the aſſent of men to ſo *dangerous* an aſſertion, while the *ſtanding ſenſible* evidences of his *exiſtence* in his practices by and upon his *inſtruments* are not diſcredited and removed.

'Tis doubtleſs therefore the intereſt of this *Agent* of *darkneſs* to have the world believe, that the *notion* they have of him is but a *phantôme* and conceit; and in order thereunto, that the ſtories of *Witches*, *Apparitions*, and indeed every thing that brings tidings of another world, are but *melancholick Dreams*, and *pious Romances*. And when men are arrived thus far to think there are no *diabolical contracts* or *Apparitions*, their belief that there are ſuch *Spirits* reſts onely upon their *Faith* and *Reverence* to the *divine Oracles*, which we have little reaſon to apprehend ſo great in ſuch aſſertors, as to command much from their aſſent; eſpecially in ſuch things in which they have *corrupt intereſts* againſt their *evidence*. So that he that thinks there is no *Witch*, believes a *Devil gratis*, or at leaſt upon inducements,

ments, which he is like to find himſelf diſpoſed to deny when he pleaſeth. And when men are arrived to this degree of *diffidence* and *infidelity*, we are beholden to them if they believe either *Angel*, or *Spirit*, *Reſurrection* of the *body*, or *Immortality* of *Souls*. Theſe things hang together in a *Chain* of *connexion*, at leaſt in theſe mens *Hypotheſis*; and 'tis but an happy chance if he that hath loſt one *link* holds another. So that the *vitals* of Religion being ſo much intereſſed in this ſubject, it will not be unneceſſary employment particularly to diſcourſe it.

And in order to the proof that there have been, and are, *unlawful Confederacies* with *evil Spirits*, by vertue of which the *helliſh accomplices* perform things above their natural powers: I muſt premiſe, that this being *matter* of *fact*, is onely capable of the evidence of *authority* and *ſenſe*; and by both theſe the being of *Witches* and *diabolical Contracts* is moſt abundantly confirm'd. All *Hiſtories* are full of the exploits of thoſe *Inſtruments of darkneſs*; and the *teſtimony* of all *ages*, not onely of the *rude* and *barbarous*, but of the moſt *civiliz'd* and *poliſh'd* world, brings tidings of their ſtrange performances. We have the *atteſtation* of thouſands of eye and ear-witneſſes, and thoſe not of the eaſily-deceivable vulgar onely, but of wiſe and grave diſcerners; and that, when no intereſt could oblige them to agree together

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in a common *Lye.* I ſay, we have the light of all theſe *circumſtances* to confirm us in the belief of things done by perſons of deſpicable power and knowledge, beyond the reach of *Art* and *ordinary Nature.* Standing publick *Records* have been kept of theſe well-atteſted *Relations*, and *Epocha's* made of thoſe unwonted events. Laws in many Nations have been enacted againſt thoſe vile practices; thoſe among the *Jews* and our *own* are *notorious*; ſuch caſes have been often determined near us, by *wiſe* and *reverend Judges*, upon clear and convictive Evidence: and thouſands in our own Nation have *ſuffered death* for their *vile compacts* with *apoſtate ſpirits.* All theſe I might largely prove in their particular inſtances, but that 'tis not needful, ſince thoſe that deny the being of *Witches*, do it not out of ignorance of theſe heads of Argument, of which probably they have heard a thouſand times; but from an *apprehenſion* that ſuch a *belief is abſurd*, and the things *impoſſible.* And upon theſe preſumptions they contemn all demonſtrations of this nature, and are hardned againſt conviction. And I think, thoſe that can believe all *Hiſtories* are *Romances*; That all the *wiſer* world have agreed together to *juggle* mankind into a common belief of *ungrounded fables*; That the *ſound ſenſes of multitudes* together may deceive them, and *Laws* are built upon *Chimera's*; That the *graveſt* and *wiſeſt Judges* have been

*Murderers,*

*Murderers*, and the *ſageſt* perſons *Fools*, or *deſigning Impoſtors*: I ſay, thoſe that can believe this *heap* of abſurdities, are either more *credulous* than thoſe whoſe *credulity* they reprehend; or elſe have ſome *extraordinary evidence* of their perſwaſion, *viz. That 'tis abſurd and impoſſible there ſhould be a Witch or Apparition.* And I am confident, were thoſe *little appearances* remov'd which men have form'd in their fancies againſt the belief of ſuch things, their own *evidence* would make its way to mens *aſſent*, without any more arguments than what they know already to enforce it. There is nothing then neceſſary to be done, in order to the eſtabliſhing the belief I would reconcile to mens minds, but to endeavour the removal of thoſe *prejudices* they have received againſt it: the chief of which I ſhall particularly deal with. And I begin with that bold *Aſſertion*, That

## SECT. II.

### I.

(I.) *THE* NOTION *of a* Spirit *is* impoſſible *and* contradictious, *and conſequently ſo is that of* Witches, *the belief of which is founded on that Doctrine.*

TO WHICH *OBJECTION* I *anſwer,*

(1) If the *notion* of a *Spirit* be *abſurd* as is pretended, that of a *GOD* and a *SOUL diſtinct* from *matter*, and *immortal*, are likewiſe *abſurdities*. And then, that the world was jumbled into this *elegant* and *orderly Fabrick* by *chance*; and that our *Souls* are onely parts of *matter* that came together we know not *whence* nor *how*, and ſhall again ſhortly be *diſſolv'd* into thoſe looſe *Atoms* that *compound* them; That all our *conceptions* are but the thruſting of one part of *matter* againſt another; and the *Idea's* of our minds mere blind and caſual *motions*. Theſe, and a thouſand more the groſſeſt *impoſſibilities* and *abſurdities* (conſequents of this *Propoſition, That the notion of a Spirit is abſurd*) will be ſad *certainties* and *demonſtrations*. And with ſuch Aſſertors I would ceaſe to diſcourſe about *Witches* and *Apparitions*, and addreſs my ſelf to obtain their aſſent to *Truths* infinitely more *ſacred*.

And yet (2) though it ſhould be granted them, that a *ſubſtance immaterial* is as much a *contradiction* as they can fancy; yet why ſhould they not believe that the *Air* and all the *Regions* above us, may have their *inviſible intellectual Agents*, of nature like unto our *Souls*, be that what it will, and ſome of them at leaſt as much degenerate as the *vileſt* and moſt

*miſchievous* among *men*? This *Hypotheſis* wil be enough to ſecure the poſſibility of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. And that all the upper *Stories* of the *Univerſe* are furniſh'd with *Inhabitants*, 'tis infinitely reaſonable to conclude, from the *analogy* of *Nature*; ſince we ſee there is nothing ſo contemptible and vile in the world we reſide in, but hath its living Creatures that dwell upon it; the *Earth*, the *Water*, the *inferiour Air*, the *bodies of Animals*, the *fleſh*, the *skin*, the *entrails*; the *leaves*, the *roots*, the *ſtalks of Vegetables*; yea, and all kind of *Minerals* in the *ſubterraneous Regions*. I ſay, all theſe have their proper *Inhabitants*; yea, I ſuppoſe this rule may hold in all diſtinct kinds of Bodies in the world, *That they have their peculiar Animals*. The certainty of which, I believe the improvement of *microſcopical Obſervations* will diſcover. From whence I infer, That ſince this little Spot is ſo *thickly peopled* in every *Atome* of it, 'tis weakneſs to think that all the vaſt *ſpaces* above, and *hollows* under ground, are *deſert* and *uninhabited*. And if both the *ſuperiour* and *lower Continents* of the *Univerſe* have their Inhabitants alſo, 'tis exceedingly improbable, arguing from the ſame *analogy*, that they are all of the meer *ſenſible nature*, but that there are at leaſt ſome of the *Rational* and *Intellectual* Orders. Which ſuppoſed, there is good foundation for the belief of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, though the notion of a *Spirit*

ſhould

ſhould prove as *abſurd*, and *unphiloſophical*, as I judge the denial of it. And ſo this firſt Objection comes to nothing. I deſcend then to the ſecond *Prejudice*, which may be thus formed in behalf of the *Objectors*.

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## SECT. III.

### II.

(II.) *THERE ARE* Actions *in moſt of thoſe* Relations *aſcribed to* Witches, *which are* ridiculous *and* impoſſible *in the nature of* things; *ſuch are* (1) *their flying out of* windows, *after they have anointed themſelves, to remote places.* (2) *Their* transformation *into Cats, Hares, and other Creatures.* (3) *Their* feeling *all the* hurts *in their own* bodies *which they have received in thoſe.* (4) *Their raiſing* Tempeſts, *by muttering ſome nonſenſical words, or performing ceremonies alike impertinent as ridiculous. And* (5) *their being* ſuck'd *in a certain private place of their* bodies *by a* Familiar. *Theſe are preſumed to be actions inconſiſtent with the nature of* Spirits, *and above the powers of thoſe poor and miſerable Agents. And therefore the* Objection *ſuppoſeth them performed onely by the* Fancy; *and that the whole myſtery of* Witchcraft *is but an* illuſion *of* craſie imagination.

TO this *aggregate Objection* I return, (1) In the general, The more *abſurd* and *unaccountable* theſe actions ſeem, the greater *confirmations* are they to me of the *truth* of thoſe *Relations*, and the reality of what the *Objectors* would deſtroy. For theſe circumſtances being exceeding *unlikely*, judging by the meaſures of common belief, 'tis the greater probability they are not *fictitious*: For the contrivers of *Fictions* uſe to form them as near as they can conformably to the moſt *unſuſpected realities*, endeavouring to make them look as *like truth* as is poſſible in the main *ſuppoſals*, though withal they make them ſtrange in the *circumſtance*. None but a fool or madman would relate, with a purpoſe of having it believed, that he ſaw in *Ireland Men* with *hoofs* on their *heads*, and *eyes* in their *breaſts*; or if any ſhould be ſo ridiculouſly vain, as to be ſerious in ſuch an *incredible Romance*, it cannot be ſuppoſed that all *Travellers* that come into thoſe parts after him ſhould tell the ſame ſtory. There is a large *field* in *fiction*; and if all thoſe *Relations* were *arbitrary compoſitions*, doubtleſs the firſt *Romancers* would have framed them more agreeable to the common doctrine of *Spirits*; at leaſt, after theſe *ſuppoſed abſurdities* had been a thouſand times laugh'd at, people by this time would have learn'd to correct thoſe *obnoxious extravagancies*; and though

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they have not yet more *veracity* than the Ages of *Ignorance* and *Superſtition*, yet one would expect they ſhould have got more *cunning*. This ſuppos'd *impoſſibility* then of theſe performances, ſeems to me a *probable argument* that they are not wilful and deſigned Forgeries. And if they are *Fancies*, 'tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Imagination*, which is the moſt *various thing* in all the *world*, ſhould infinitely repeat the ſame *conceit* in all times and places.

But again (2) the ſtrange *Actions* related of *Witches*, and preſumed *impoſſible*, are not aſcribed to their own powers; but to the Agency of thoſe wicked *Confederates* they imploy. And to affirm that thoſe *evil ſpirits* cannot do that which we conceit *impoſſible*; is boldly to ſtint the powers of Creatures, whoſe natures and faculties we know not; and to meaſure the world of *Spirits* by the narrow rules of our own *impotent beings*. We ſee among our ſelves the *performances* of ſome out-go the *conceits* and *poſſibilities* of others; and we know many things may be done by the *Mathematicks* and *Mechanick Artifice*, which common heads think *impoſſible* to be effected by the honeſt ways of *Art* and *Nature*. And doubtleſs, the *ſubtilties* and *powers* of thoſe *miſchievous Fiends* are as much beyond the reach and activities of the moſt knowing *Agents* among us, as theirs are beyond the wit and ability of the moſt *ruſtick* and *illiterate*. So that the utmoſt that

any mans reaſon in the world can amount to in this particular, is onely this, That he cannot *conceive* how ſuch things can be performed; which onely argues the *weakneſs* and *imperfection* of our *knowledge* and *apprehenſions*, not the *impoſſibility* of thoſe performances: and we can no more from hence form an Argument againſt them, than againſt the moſt *ordinary effects in Nature*. We cannot conceive how the *Fœtus* is form'd in the *Womb*, nor as much as how a *Plant* ſprings from the *Earth* we tread on; we know not how our *Souls move* the *Body*, nor how theſe diſtant and extream *natures* are *united*; as I have abundantly ſhewn in my *SCEPSIS SCIENTIFICA*. And if we are ignorant of the moſt *obvious* things about us, and the moſt *conſiderable within* our ſelves, 'tis then no wonder that we know not the *conſtitution* and *powers* of the *Creatures*, to whom we are ſuch ſtrangers. Briefly then, *matters of fact* well proved ought not to be denied, becauſe we cannot *conceive how* they can be performed. Nor is it a reaſonable method of inference, firſt to preſume the thing *impoſſible*, and thence to conclude that the *fact* cannot be *proved*. On the contrary, we ſhould judge of the *action* by the *evidence*, and not the *evidence* by the meaſures of our fancies about the *action*. This is proudly to exalt our own *opinions* above the cleareſt *teſtimonies* and moſt ſenſible *demonſtrations* of *fact*: and ſo to give

give the *Lye* to all *Mankind*, rather than diſtruſt the *conceits* of our bold *imaginations*. But yet further,

(3) I think there is nothing in the *inſtances* mention'd, but what may as well be accounted for by the Rules of *Reaſon* and *Philoſophy*, as the ordinary affairs of *Nature*. For in reſolving *natural Phænomena*, we can onely aſſign the probable *cauſes*, ſheing how things *may be*, not preſuming how they *are*. And in the particulars under our *Examen*, we may give an account how 'tis *poſſible*, and not *unlikely*, that ſuch things (though ſomewhat varying from the common *road* of *Nature*) may be acted. And if our narrow and contracted minds can furniſh us with apprehenſions of the way and manner of ſuch performances, though perhaps not the true ones, 'tis an argument that ſuch things may be effected by creatures whoſe powers and knowledge are ſo vaſtly exceeding ours. I ſhall endeavour therefore briefly to ſuggeſt ſome things that may render the *poſſibility* of theſe performances *conceivable*, in order to the removal of this *Objection*, that they are *contradictions* and *impoſſible*.

For the *FIRST* then, That the *confederate Spirit* ſhould tranſport the *Witch* through the Air to the place of general *Rendezvous*, there is no difficulty in conceiving it; and if that be true which great Philoſophers affirm, concerning the real *ſeparability* of the *Soul*

from the *Body* without *death*, there is yet *leſs*; for then 'tis eaſie to apprehend, that the *Soul* having left its groſs and ſluggiſh *body* behind it, and being cloath'd onely with its *immediate vehicle of Air*, or more *ſubtile matter*, may be quickly conducted to any place it would be at by thoſe *officious Spirits* that attend it. And though I adventure to affirm nothing concerning the truth and certainty of this *Suppoſition*, yet I muſt needs ſay, it doth not ſeem to me *unreaſonable*. And our experience of *Apoplexies*, *Epilepſies*, *Ecſtaſies*, and the ſtrange things men report to have ſeen during thoſe *Deliquiums*, look favourably upon this *conjecture*; which ſeems to me to contradict no *principle* of *Reaſon* or *Philoſophy*; ſince *Death* conſiſts not ſo much in the *actual ſeparation of Soul and Body*, as in the *indiſpoſition* and *unfitneſs of the Body for vital union*, as an excellent Philoſopher hath made good. On which *Hypotheſis*, the *Witches anointing* her ſelf before ſhe takes her flight, may perhaps ſerve to keep the Body *tenantable*, and in fit *diſpoſition* to receive the *Spirit* at its return. Theſe things, I ſay, we may conceive, though I affirm nothing about them; and there is not any thing in ſuch *conceptions* but what hath been own'd by men of worth and name, and may ſeem *fair* and *accountable* enough to thoſe who judge not altogether by the meaſures of the *populace* and *cuſtomary opinion*. And there's a ſaying of the great

great *Apoſtle* that ſeems to countenance this *Platonick* notion; what is the meaning elſe of that expreſſion, [*Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell*] except the *Soul* may be ſeparated from the *Body* without *death*? which if it be granted *poſſible*, 'tis ſufficient for my purpoſe. And

(2) The *Transformations* of *Witches* into the *ſhapes* of other *Animals*, upon the ſame ſuppoſal is very *conceivable*, ſince then 'tis eaſie enough to imagine, that the power of *imagination* may form thoſe *paſſive* and *pliable vehicles* into thoſe *ſhapes*, with more eaſe than the fancy of the *Mother* can the ſtubborn matter of the *Fœtus* in the womb, as we ſee it frequently doth in the inſtances that occur of *Signatures* and *monſtrous Singularities*; and perhaps ſometimes the *confederate Spirit* puts tricks upon the ſenſes of the *Spectators*, and thoſe *ſhapes* are onely *illuſions*.

But then (3) when they feel the *hurts* in their groſs bodies, that they receive in their *airy vehicles*, they muſt be ſuppoſed to have been really preſent, at leaſt in theſe latter; and 'tis no more difficult to apprehend how the hurts of *thoſe* ſhould be tranſlated upon their other *bodies*, than how *diſeaſes* ſhould be *inflicted* by the *imagination*, or how the *fancy* of the *Mother* ſhould wound the *Fœtus*, as ſeveral credible relations do atteſt.

And (4) for their raiſing *Storms* and *Tempeſts*

*peſts*, They do it not, be ſure, by their *own*, but by the *power* of the *Prince* of the *Air*, their Friend and Allie; and the *Ceremonies* that are enjoyn'd them are doubtleſs nothing elſe but *entertainments* for their *imaginations*, and are likely deſign'd to perſwade them, that *they* do theſe ſtrange things *themſelves*.

And (laſtly) for their being *ſuck'd* by the *Familiar*, I ſay (1) we know ſo little of the nature of *Dæmons* and *Spirits*, that 'tis no wonder we cannot certainly divine the reaſon of ſo ſtrange an action. And yet (2) we may conjecture at ſome things that may render it leſs *improbable*. For ſome have thought that the *Genii* (whom both the *Platonical* and *Chriſtian Antiquity* thought *embodied*) are recreated by the *reeks* and *vapours* of *humane blood*, and the *ſpirits* that proceed from them: Which ſuppoſal (if we grant them bodies) is not unlikely, every thing being *refreſh'd* and *nouriſh'd* by its like. And that they are not perfectly *abſtract* from all *body* and *matter*, beſides the reverence we owe to the wiſeſt antiquity, there are ſeveral conſiderable Arguments I could alledge to render it exceeding probable. Which things ſuppoſed, the *Devil's ſucking* the *Sorcereſs* is no great wonder, nor difficult to be accounted for. Or perhaps (3) this may be onely a *diabolical Sacrament* and *Ceremony* to confirm the *helliſh Covenant*. To which I add, (4) That which to me ſeems moſt

moſt probable, *viz.* That the *Familiar* doth not onely ſuck the *Witch*, but in the action infuſeth ſome *poyſonous ferment* into her, which gives her Imagination and Spirits a *magical tincture*, whereby they become *miſchievouſly influential*; and the word *veneſica* intimates ſome ſuch matter. Now that the *imagination* hath a mighty power in *operation*, is ſeen in the juſt now mention'd *Signatures* and *Diſeaſes* that it cauſeth; and that the *fancy* is modified by the *qualities* of the *blood* and *ſpirits*, is too evident to need proof. Which things ſuppoſed, 'tis plain to conceive that the *evil ſpirit* having breath'd ſome vile *vapour* into the *body* of the *Witch*, it may taint her *blood* and *ſpirits* with a *noxious quality*, by which her *infected imagination*, heightned by *melancholy* and this worſe cauſe, may do much hurt upon *bodies* that are impreſſible by ſuch *influences*. And 'tis very likely that this *ferment* diſpoſeth the *imagination* of the *Sorcereſs* to cauſe the mentioned ἀφαιρεσίκ, or *ſeparation* of the *Soul* from the *Body*, and may perhaps keep the *Body* in fit temper for *its re-entry*; as alſo it may facilitate *transformation*, which, it may be, could not be effected by *ordinary* and *unaſſiſted* imagination.

Thus we ſee, 'tis not ſo deſperate to form an apprehenſion of the manner of theſe odd performances; and though they are not done the way I have deſcrib'd, yet what I have ſaid may help

help us to a conceit of the poſſibility, which ſufficeth for my purpoſe. And though the *Hypotheſes* I have gone upon will ſeem as *unlikely* to ſome, as the things they attempt to explain are to others; yet I muſt deſire their leave to ſuggeſt, that moſt things ſeem *improbable* (eſpecially to the *conceited* and *opinionative*) at firſt *propoſal*: and many great *truths* are *ſtrange* and *odd*, till *cuſtome* and *acquaintance* have reconciled them to our fancies. And I'le preſume to add on this occaſion, (though I love not to be confident in *affirming*) that there is none of the *Platonical ſuppoſals* I have uſed, but what I could make appear to be *fair* and *reaſonable*, to the capable and unprejudic'd.

## SECT. IV.

### III.

BUT (III.) *I come to another* prejudice *againſt the being of* Witches, *which is*, *That 'tis very improbable that the* Devil, *who is a* wiſe *and* mighty Spirit, *ſhould be at the beck of a poor* Hag, *and have ſo little to do, as to attend the* Errands *and impotent* Luſts *of a ſilly* Old woman.

TO which I might anſwer, (1) That 'tis much more *improbable* that all the *world*

*world* ſhould be *deceiv'd* in *matters* of *fact*, and circumſtances of the cleareſt evidence and conviction; than that the *Devil*, who is *wicked*, ſhould be alſo *unwiſe*; and that he that perſwades all his ſubjects and accomplices out of their wits, ſhould himſelf act like his own Temptations and Perſwaſions. In brief, there is nothing more ſtrange in this Objection, than that *wickedneſs is baſeneſs and ſervility*; and that the *Devil* is at leiſure to ſerve thoſe, he is at leiſure to *tempt*, and induſtrious to *ruine*. And again, (2) I ſee no *neceſſity* to believe that the *Devil* is always the *Witches Confederate*; but perhaps it may fitly be conſidered, whether the *Familiar* be not ſome *departed humane Spirit*, forſaken of God and goodneſs, and ſwallowed up by the unſatiable deſire of miſchief and revenge, which poſſibly by the *Laws* and *capacity* of its *ſtate* it cannot execute *immediately*. And why we ſhould preſume that the *Devil* ſhould have the liberty of wandring up and down the Earth and Air, when he is ſaid to be *held* in the *Chains* of *darkneſs*; and yet that the *ſeparated Souls* of the *wicked*, of whom no ſuch thing is affirm'd in any *ſacred Record*, ſhould be thought ſo *impriſon'd*, that they cannot poſſibly wag from the place of their *confinement*, I know no ſhadow of conjecture. This *conceit* I'm confident hath prejudic'd many againſt the belief of *Witches* and *Apparitions*; they not being able to conceive that the *Devil* ſhould

ſhould be ſo *ludicrous* as *appearing ſpirits* are ſometimes reported to be in their *frolicks*; and they preſume, that *ſouls departed never reviſit the free and open Regions*; which confidence, I know nothing to juſtifie: For ſince good men in their *ſtate* of *ſeparation* are ſaid to be ἰσάγγελοι, why the *wicked* may not be ſuppoſed to be ἰσοδαίμονες in the worſt ſenſe of the word, I know nothing to help me to imagine. And if it be ſuppoſed that the *Imps* of *Witches* are ſometimes wicked *ſpirits* of our *own kind* and *nature*, and poſſibly the ſame that have been *Sorcerers* and *Witches* in this life: This ſuppoſal may give a fairer and more probable account of many of the actions of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, than the other *Hypotheſis*, that they are always *Devils*. And to this conjecture I'le adventure to ſubjoyn another, which alſo hath its *probability*, viz. (3) That 'tis not impoſſible but the *Familiars of Witches* are a vile kind of *ſpirits*, of a very inferiour Conſtitution and nature, and none of thoſe that were once of the higheſt *Hierarchy*, now degenerated into the *ſpirits* we call *Devils*. And for my part I muſt confeſs, that I think the common *diviſion of ſpirits* much too general; conceiving it likely there may be as great a *variety* of *intellectual Creatures* in the *inviſible world*, as there is of *Animals* in the *viſible*: and that all the *ſuperiour*, yea, and *inferiour* Regions, have their ſeveral kinds of *ſpirits* differing in their *natural*

*per-*

*perfections*, as well as in the *kinds* and *degrees* of their *depravities*; which being ſuppoſed, 'tis very probable that thoſe of the *baſeſt* and *meaneſt* Orders are they, who ſubmit to the mention'd *ſervilities*. And thus the *ſageſs* and *grandeur* of the *Prince* of *darkneſs* need not be brought into queſtion.

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## SECT. V.

### IV.

BUT (IV) *the opinion of* Witches *ſeems to ſome, to accuſe* Providence, *and to ſuggeſt that it hath expoſed* Innocents *to the fury and malice of* revengeful Fiends; *yea, and ſuppoſeth thoſe moſt* obnoxious, *for whom we might moſt reaſonably expect a more ſpecial* tutelary *care and protection*; *moſt of the cruel practices of thoſe preſum'd* Inſtruments *of* Hell, *being upon* Children, *who as they leaſt deſerve to be deſerted by that* Providence *that ſuperintends all things, ſo they moſt need its* guardian influence.

TO this ſo ſpecious an *Objection* I have theſe things to anſwer.

(1) *Providence* is an unfathomable Depth; and if we ſhould not believe the *Phænomena* of our *ſenſes*, before we can reconcile them to our *notions* of *Providence*, we muſt be groſſer *Scepticks*

*pticks* than ever yet were extant. The *miſeries* of the *preſent life*, the *unequal diſtributions* of *good and evil*, the *ignorance* and *barbarity* of the greateſt part of Mankind, the *fatal diſad-vantages* we are all under, and the *hazard* we run of being eternally miſerable and undone; theſe, I ſay, are things that can hardly be made *conſiſtent* with that *Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs* that we are ſure hath *made* and *mingled it ſelf* with all things. And yet we believe there is a *beauty* and *harmony*, and *goodneſs* in that *Providence*, though we cannot *unriddle* it in *particular inſtances*; nor, by reaſon of our ignorance and imperfection, clear it from *contradicting appearances*; and conſequently, we ought not to deny the being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, becauſe they will create us ſome difficulties in our *notions* of *Providence*. But to come more cloſe (2) Thoſe that believe that *Infants* are *Heirs of Hell*, and *Children of the Devil* as ſoon as they are *diſcloſed* to the world, cannot certainly offer ſuch an Objection; for what is a little *trifling pain* of a moment, to thoſe *eternal Tortures* to which, if they *die aſſoon as they are born* according to the Tenour of this Doctrine, they are *everlaſtingly expoſed?* But however the caſe ſtands as to *that*, 'tis certain, (3) That *Providence* hath not ſecured them from *other violences* they are obnoxious to, from *cruelty* and *accident*; and yet we accuſe *It* not when a whole Townful of *Innocents* fall a *Victim* to

the *rage* and *ferity* of *barbarous Executioners* in *Wars* and *Maſſacres.* To which I add (4) That 'tis likely the *miſchief* is not ſo often done by the *evil ſpirit immediately*, but by the *malignant* influence of the *Sorcereſs*, whoſe *power* of hurting conſiſts in the fore-mention'd *ferment*, which is *infuſed* into her by the *Familiar.* So that I am apt to think there may be a *power* of *real faſcination* in the *Witches eyes* and *imagination*, by which for the moſt part ſhe acts upon *tender* bodies. *Neſcio quis teneros oculus* ——— For the *peſtilential ſpirits* being darted by a *ſpightful and vigorous imagination* from the *eye*, and meeting with *thoſe* that are *weak* and *paſſive* in the bodies which they enter, will not fail to infect them with a *noxious quality* that makes *dangerous* and *ſtrange alterations* in the perſon invaded by this *poiſonous influence:* which way of acting by ſubtile and *inviſible inſtruments*, is *ordinary* and *familiar* in all natural *efficiencies.* And 'tis now paſt queſtion, that *nature* for the moſt part acts by *ſubtile ſtreams* and *aporrhœa's* of *minute particles*, which paſs from one body to another. Or however that be, this kind of *agency* is as *conceivable* as any of thoſe *qualities ignorance* hath call'd *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*, the reality of which we doubt not, though the manner of *action* be *unknown.* Yea, the thing I ſpeak of is as eaſie to be apprehended, as how *infection* ſhould paſs in certain *tenuious ſtreams* through

the *Air* from one houſe to another; or, as how the *biting* of a *mad Dog* ſhould fill all the *Blood* and *Spirits* with a *venomous* and *malign ferment*; the application of the *vertue* doing the ſame in our caſe, as *that* of *contact* doth in *this*. Yea, ſome kinds of *faſcination* are perform'd in this groſſer and more ſenſible way, as by *ſtriking*, giving *Apples*, and the like, by which the *contagious quality* may be tranſmitted, as we ſee *Diſeaſes* often are by the *touch*. Now in this way of conjecture a good account may be given why *Witches* are moſt powerful upon *Children* and timorous perſons, *viz.* becauſe their *ſpirits* and *imaginations* being *weak* and *paſſive*, are not able to reſiſt the *fatal invaſion*; whereas men of bold minds, who have plenty of *ſtrong* and *vigorous ſpirits*, are ſecure from the *contagion*; as in *peſtilential Airs clean* bodies are not ſo liable to infection as other tempers. Thus then we ſee 'tis likely enough, that very often the *Sorcereſs* her ſelf doth the *miſchief*; and we know, *de facto*, that *Providence* doth not always ſecure us from one anothers *injuries*: And yet I muſt confeſs, that many times alſo the evil *ſpirit* is the *miſchievous Agent*; though this confeſſion draw on me another Objection, which I next propoſe.

SECT.

## SECT. VI.

### V.

(V.) THEN *it may be ſaid, that if* wicked ſpirits *can hurt us by the* direction, *and at the deſire of a* Witch, *one would think they ſhould have the ſame power to do us injury without* inſtigation *or* compact; *and if this be granted, 'tis a wonder that we are not always annoy'd and infeſted by them.* To which

I RETURN, (1) That the *Laws*, *Liberties*, and *Reſtraints* of the *Inhabitants* of the other *world* are to us utterly *unknown*; and this way we can onely argue our ſelves into *confeſſions* of our *ignorance*, which every man muſt acknowledge that is not as *immodeſt* as *ignorant*. It muſt be granted by all that own the *being*, *power*, and *malice* of evil *Spirits*, that the *ſecurity* we enjoy is *wonderful*, whether they act by *Witches* or not; and by what *Laws* they are kept from making us a prey, to ſpeak like *Philoſophers*, *we cannot tell*: yea, why they ſhould be permitted to tempt and ruine us in our *Souls*, and reſtrain'd from touching or hurting us in our *Bodies*, is a *myſtery* not eaſily *accountable*. But yet (2) though we acknowledge their power to vex and torment us in

our Bodies alſo; yet a reaſon may be given why they are leſs frequent in this kind of miſchief, *viz.* becauſe their main deſigns are levell'd againſt the intereſt and happineſs of our Souls; which they can beſt promote, when their actions are moſt *ſly* and *ſecret*; whereas did they ordinarily perſecute men in their Bodies, their *agency* and *wicked influence* would be diſcover'd, and make a mighty noiſe in the world, whereby men would be awaken'd to a ſuitable and vigorous oppoſition, by the uſe of ſuch means as would engage *Providence* to reſcue them from their *rage* and *cruelties*; and at laſt defeat them in their great purpoſes of *undoing us eternally*. Thus we may conceive that the *ſecurity* we enjoy may well enough *conſiſt* with the *power* and *malice* of thoſe *evil Spirits*; and upon this account we may ſuppoſe that *Laws* of their own may prohibit their *unlicens'd injuries*, not from any *goodneſs* there is in their *Conſtitutions*, but in order to the more *ſucceſsful* carrying on the *projects* of the *dark Kingdom*; as *Generals* forbid *Plunder*, not out of *love* to their Enemies, but in order to their own *Succeſs*. And hence (3) we may ſuppoſe a *Law* of *permiſſion* to hurt us at the inſtance of the *Sorcereſs*, may well ſtand with the *polity* of *Hell*, ſince by gratifying the wicked perſon, they encourage her in *malice* and *revenge*, and promote thereby the main ends of their *black confederacy*, which are to propa-

gate

gate *wickedneſs*, and to ruine us in our *eternal intereſts*. And yet (4) 'tis clear to thoſe that believe the *Hiſtory* of the *Goſpel*, that *wicked ſpirits* have vexed the bodies of men, without any *inſtigation* that we read of; and at this day 'tis very likely that many of the *ſtrange accidents* and *diſeaſes* that befal us, may be the *infliction* of *evil ſpirits*, prompted to hurt us onely by the delight they take in *miſchief*. So that we cannot argue the improbability of their hurting *Children* and others by *Witches*, from our own *ſecurity* and *freedom* from the effects of their *malice*, which perhaps we feel in more inſtances than we are aware of.

## SECT. VII.

### VI.

BUT (VI) *another* prejudice *againſt the belief of* Witches, *is, a preſumption upon the* enormous force *of* melancholy *and* imagination, *which without doubt can do* wonderful *things, and beget* ſtrange *perſwaſions*; *and to theſe cauſes ſome aſcribe the preſum'd effects of* ſorcery *and* Witchcraft. To which I reply briefly; and yet I hope ſufficiently,

(4) THAT to reſolve all the *clear* circumſtances of *Fact*, which we find in

well-attested and confirm'd Relations of this kind, into the power of *deceivable imagination*, is to make *fancy* the greater *prodigie*; and to suppose, that it can do *stranger feats* than are believed of any other kind of *fascination*. And to think that *Pins* and *Nails*, for instance, can by the power of *imagination* be convey'd within the skin; or that *imagination* should deceive so many as have been witnesses in *Objects* of *sense*, in all the circumstances of *discovery*; this, I say, is to be infinitely more *credulous* than the assertors of *Sorcery* and *Demoniack Contracts*. And by the same reason it may be believ'd, that all the *Battles* and *strange events* of the world, which our selves have not seen, are but *dreams* and fond *imaginations*, and like those that are fought in the *Clouds*, when the *Brains* of the *deluded Spectators* are the onely *Theatre* of those *fancied transactions*. And (2) to deny evidence of *act*, because *their imagination may* deceive the *Relators*, when we have no reason to think so but a bare presumption that there is no such thing as is related, is quite to destroy the credit of all *humane testimony*; and to make *all men liars* in a larger sence than the *Prophet* concluded in his *haste*. For not onely the *melancholick* and the *fanciful*, but the *grave* and the *sober*, whose judgements we have no reason to suspect to be tainted by their *imaginations*, have from their own knowledge and experience made reports of this nature. But

to this it will possibly be rejoyn'd, and the *Reply* will be another *prejudice* against the belief for which I contend, *viz.*

## SECT. VIII.

### VII.

(VII.) THAT *'tis a suspicious circumstance that* Witchcraft *is but a* fancy, *since the persons that are accused are commonly* poor *and* miserable old women, *who are overgrown with* discontent *and* melancholy, *which are very* imaginative; *and the persons said to be* bewitch'd *are for the most part* Children, *or people very weak, who are easily imposed upon, and are apt to receive* strong impressions *from nothing: whereas were there any such thing really, 'tis not likely, but that the more* cunning *and* subtil desperado's, *who might the more successfully carry on the* mischievous designs *of the* dark *Kingdom, should be oftner engaged in those* black confederacies, *and also one would expect effects of the* hellish combination *upon others than the* innocent *and* ignorant.

TO which *Objection* it might perhaps be enough to return (as hath been above suggested) that nothing can be concluded by *this* and such like arguings, but that the *policy*

and *menages* of the *Inſtruments* of *darkneſs* are to us altogether *unknown*, and as much in the dark as their natures; Mankind being no more acquainted with the *reaſons* and *methods* of action in the other world, than poor *Cottagers* and *Mechanicks* are with the *Intrigues of Government*, and *Reaſons of State*. Yea peradventure (2) 'tis one of the great deſigns, as 'tis certainly the *intereſt* of thoſe wicked *Agents* and *Machinators*, induſtriouſly to hide from us their *influences* and *ways* of acting, and to work, as near as is poſſible, *incognito*: upon which ſuppoſal 'tis eaſie to conceive a reaſon, why they moſt commonly work by, and upon the weak and the ignorant, who can make no *cunning obſervations*, or tell *credible tales* to detect their *artifice*. Beſides (3) 'tis likely a *ſtrong imagination*, that cannot be *weaken'd* or *diſturb'd* by a buſie and ſubtile *ratiocination*, is a neceſſary requiſite to thoſe wicked performances; and without doubt an *heightned* and *obſtinate fancy* hath a great influence upon *impreſſible ſpirits*; yea, and as I have conjectur'd before, on the more *paſſive* and *ſuſceptible bodies*. And I am very apt to believe, that there are as *real communications* and *intercourſes* between our *Spirits*, as there are between *material Agents*; which *ſecret influences*, though they are unknown in their *nature* and *ways* of *acting*, yet they are ſufficiently felt in their *effects*: for *experience* atteſts, that ſome by the very

very *majeſty* and *greatneſs* of their *Spirits*, diſcovered by nothing but a certain *noble air* that accompanies them, will *bear down* others *leſs great* and *generous*, and make them *ſneak* before them; and ſome, by I know not what *ſtupifying vertue*, will tie up the *tongue*, and confine the *ſpirits* of thoſe who are otherwiſe *brisk* and *voluble*. Which thing ſuppoſed, the *influences* of a *Spirit* poſſeſs'd of an *active* and *enormous imagination*, may be *malign* and *fatal* where they cannot be reſiſted; eſpecially when they are accompanied by thoſe *poyſonous reaks* that the *evil ſpirit* breathes into the *Sorcereſs*, which likely are *ſhot* out, and applied by a *fancy* heightned and prepared by *melancholy* and *diſcontent*. And thus we may conceive why the *melancholick* and *envious* are uſed upon ſuch occaſions, and for the ſame reaſon the *ignorant*, ſince *knowledge* checks and controuls *imagination*; and thoſe that abound much in the *imaginative faculties*, do not uſually exceed in the *rational*. And perhaps (4) the *Dæmon* himſelf uſeth the *imagination* of the *Witch* ſo *qualified* for his purpoſe, even in thoſe actions of miſchief which are more properly his; for it is moſt probable, that *Spirits* act not upon *bodies immediately*, and by their *naked eſſence*, but by *means proportionate*, and ſutable *inſtruments* that they uſe; upon which account likely 'tis ſo ſtrictly required, that the *Sorcereſs* ſhould *believe*, that ſo her *imagination* might be more at the *devo-*

*tion*

*tion* of the *miſchievous Agent*. And for the ſame reaſon alſo *Ceremonies* are uſed in *Inchantments*, viz. for the begetting this *diabolical faith*, and heightning the *fancy* to a degree of *ſtrength* and *vigour* ſufficient to make it a fit *inſtrument* for the deſign'd performance. Thoſe I think are reaſons of likelihood and probability, why the *helliſh Confederates* are moſtly the *ignorant* and the *melancholick*. To paſs then to another prejudice.

## SECT. IX.

### VIII.

(VIII.) THE *frequent* impoſtures *that are met with in this kind, beget in ſome a belief, that all ſuch* Relations *are* Forgeries *and* Tales; *and if we urge the evidence of a* ſtory *for the belief of* Witches *or* Apparitions, *they will produce two as* ſeemingly ſtrong *and* plauſible, *which ſhall conclude in* miſtake *or* deſign; *inferring thence, that all others are of the ſame quality and credit*. But ſuch arguers may pleaſe to conſider,

(1) THAT a *ſingle relation* for an *Affirmative*, ſufficiently confirmed and atteſted, is worth a thouſand *tales* of *forgery* and *impoſture*, from whence an *univerſal Negative* cannot

cannot be concluded. So that, though all the *Objectors ſtories* be *true*, and an hundred times as many more ſuch *deceptions*; yet one *relation*, wherein no *fallacy* or *fraud* could be ſuſpected for our *Affirmative*, would ſpoil any *Concluſion* could be erected on them. And

(2) It ſeems to me a belief ſufficiently *bold* and *precarious*, that *all* theſe relations of *forgery* and *miſtake* ſhould be certain, and not one among all thoſe which atteſt the *Affirmative reality*, with circumſtances as good as could be expected, or wiſh'd, ſhould be *true*; but all *fabulous* and *vain*. And they have no reaſon to object *credulity* to the aſſertors of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, that can ſwallow ſo large a morſel. And I deſire ſuch Objectors to conſider,

(3) Whether it be fair to infer, that becauſe there are ſome *Cheats* and *Impoſtures*, that therefore there are no *Realities*. Indeed frequency of deceit and fallacy will warrant a greater care and caution in *examining*; and *ſcrupuloſity* and *ſhineſs* of *aſſent* to things wherein fraud hath been *practiſed*, or may in the leaſt degree be *ſuſpected*: But, to conclude, becauſe that an old woman's *fancy* abuſed her, or ſome *knaviſh* fellows put tricks upon the *ignorant* and *timorous*, that therefore whole *Aſſiſes* have been a thouſand times deceived in *judgements* upon *matters* of *fact*, and numbers of ſober perſons have been *forſworn* in things

wherein

wherein *perjury* could not advantage them; I say, such *inferences* are as void of *reason*, as they are of *charity* and *good manners*.

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## SECT. X.

### IX.

BUT (IX) *it may be suggested further, That it cannot be imagin'd what* design *the* Devil *should have in making those* solemn compacts, *since persons of such debauch'd and irreclaimable dispositions as those with whom he is supposed to* confederate, *are pretty securely his, antecedently to the bargain, and cannot be more so by it, since they cannot put their* Souls *out of* possibility *of the* Divine Grace, *but by the* Sin *that is* unpardonable; *or if they could so dispose and give away themselves, it will to some seem very unlikely, that a great and mighty* Spirit *should oblige himself to such observances, and keep such ado to secure the Soul of a silly Body, which 'twere odds but it would be* His, *though* He *put himself to no further trouble than that of his* ordinary temptations.

TO which *suggestions* 'twere enough to say, that 'tis sufficient if the thing be well *prov'd*, though the design be not known. And to argue *negatively à fine*, is very unconclusive

cluſive in ſuch matters. The Laws and Affairs of the other world (as hath been intimated) are vaſtly differing from thoſe of our Regions, and therefore 'tis no wonder we cannot judge of their *deſigns*, when we know nothing of their *menages*, and ſo *little* of their *natures*. The ignorant *looker-on* can't imagine what the *Limner* means by thoſe ſeemingly *rude Lines* and *ſcrawls* which he intends for the *Rudiments* of a *Picture*; and the *Figures* of *Mathematick operation* are *nonſence*, and *daſhes* at *a venture*, to one uninſtructed in *Mechanicks*. We are in the dark to *one anothers* purpoſes and intendments; and there are a thouſand intrigues in our little matters, which will not preſently confeſs their deſign even to *ſagacious inquiſitors*. And therefore 'tis folly and incogitancy to argue any thing one way or other from the *deſigns* of a ſort of Beings, with whom we ſo little communicate; and poſſibly we can take no more aim, or gueſs at their *projects* and *deſignments*, than the *gazing Beaſts* can do at ours, when they ſee the *Traps* and *Gins* that are laid for them, but underſtand nothing what they mean. Thus in general.

But I attempt ſomething more particularly, in order to which I muſt premiſe, that the *Devil* is a name for a *Body Politick*, in which there are very different *Orders* and *Degrees* of *Spirits*, and perhaps in as much *variety* of *place and ſtate*, as among our ſelves; ſo that

'tis

'tis not one and the ſame perſon that makes all the compacts with thoſe abuſed and ſeduced Souls, but they are divers, and thoſe 'tis like of the meaneſt and baſeſt quality in the *Kingdom of darkneſs:* which being ſuppoſed, I offer this account of the *probable deſign* of thoſe *wicked Agents*, viz. That having none to *rule* or *tyrannize* over within the *circle* of their own nature and government, they affect a *proud Empire* over us, (the deſire of *Dominion* and *Authority* being largely ſpread through the whole *circumference* of *degenerated nature*, eſpecially among thoſe, whoſe *pride* was their *original tranſgreſſion*) every one of theſe then deſires to get him Vaſſals to pay him homage, and to be employ'd like Slaves in the ſervices of his Luſts and Appetites; to gratifie which deſire, 'tis like enough to be provided and allowed by the conſtitution of their *State* and *Government*, that every *wicked ſpirit* ſhall have thoſe Souls as his *property*, and *particular ſervants* and *attendants*, whom he can *catch* in ſuch *compacts*; as thoſe *wild Beaſts* that we can take in *hunting*, are by the allowance of the Law our *own*; and thoſe Slaves that a man hath *purchas'd*, are his peculiar Goods, and the Vaſſals of his will. Or rather thoſe deluding Fiends are like the ſeducing fellows we call *Spirits*, who inveigle Children by their falſe and flattering promiſes, and carry them away to the *Plantations* of *America*, to be ſervilely em-

employed there in the works of their profit and advantage. And as thoſe baſe Agents will humour and flatter the ſimple unwary Youth, till they are on Shipboard, and without the reach of thoſe that might reſcue them from their hands: In like manner the more *miſchievous Tempter* ſtudies to gratifie, pleaſe, and accommodate thoſe he deals with in this kind, till death hath lanch'd them into the *Deep*, and they are paſt the danger of *Prayers*, *Repentance*, and *Endeavours*; and then *He uſeth* them as pleaſeth *Him*. This account I think is not unreaſonable, and 'twill fully anſwer the Objection. For though the matter be not as I have conjectur'd, yet 'twill ſuggeſt a way how it may be *conceiv'd*; which nulls the pretence, That the *Deſign* is *unconceivable*.

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## SECT. XI.

### X.

*BUT then* (X) *we are ſtill liable to be queſtion'd, how it comes about, that thoſe* proud *and* inſolent Deſigners *practiſe in this kind upon ſo* few, *when one would expect, that they ſhould be ſtill trading this way, and every where be driving on the project, which the vileneſs of men makes ſo feiſable, and would ſo much ſerve the intereſt of their luſts.*

To

TO which, among other things that might be ſuggeſted, I return,

(1) That we are never liable to be ſo betrayed and abuſed, till by our *vile diſpoſitions* and *tendencies* we have forfeited the *tutelary* care, and *overſight* of the better Spirits; who, though generally they are our guard and defence againſt the malice and violence of *evil Angels*, yet it may well enough be thought, that ſometimes they may take their leave of ſuch as are ſwallowed up by *Malice*, *Envie*, and *deſire* of *Revenge*, qualities moſt contrary to their *Life* and *Nature*; and leave them expoſed to the *invaſion* and *ſolicitations* of thoſe *wicked Spirits*, to whom ſuch hateful *Attributes* make them very *ſutable*. And if there be particular *Guardian* Angels, as 'tis not abſurd to fancy, it may then well be ſuppoſed, that no man is obnoxious to thoſe projects and attempts, but onely ſuch whoſe *vile* and *miſchievous natures* have driven from them their *protecting Genius*. And againſt this dereliction to the power of *evil Spirits*, 'tis likely enough what ſome affirm, that the *Royal Pſalmiſt* directs that Prayer, *Pſal.* LXXI. ix, x. *Caſt me not off in the time of old age; forſake me not when my ſtrength faileth.* For----*They that keep my Soul* [ φυλάσσοντες τῶ ψυχῶ μȣ, as the LXX and the *Vulgar Latine*, *Qui cuſtodiunt animam meam* ] *they take counſel together, ſaying,*

*ing, God hath forſaken him, perſecute him and take him; for there is none to deliver him.* But I add, (2) That 'tis very probable, that the ſtate wherein they are, will not eaſily permit *palpable intercourſes* between the bad *Genii* and *Mankind*, ſince 'tis like enough that their own Laws and Government do not allow their frequent excurſions into this World. Or, it may with as great probability be ſuppoſed, that 'tis a very hard and painful thing for them, to force their *thin* and *tenuious* Bodies into a *viſible conſiſtence*, and ſuch ſhapes as are neceſſary for their *deſigns* in their *correſpondencies* with *Witches*. For in this action their Bodies muſt needs be exceedingly *compreſs'd*, which cannot well be without a painful ſenſe. And this is perhaps a reaſon why there are ſo *few Apparitions*, and why *appearing Spirits* are commonly in ſuch haſte to be gone, *viz.* that they may be deliver'd from the *unnatural preſſure* of their *tender vehicles*; which I confeſs holds more, in the *apparitions* of *good* than *evil Spirits*; moſt Relations of this kind, deſcribing their diſcoveries of themſelves, as very *tranſient*, (though for thoſe the holy Scripture records, there may be peculiar reaſon, why they are not ſo) whereas the *wicked ones* are not altogether ſo *quick*, and *haſty* in their *viſits*: The reaſon of which probably is, the great *ſubtilty* and *tenuity* of the Bodies of the former, which will require far greater degrees of *compreſſion*, and conſequent-

ly of *pain*, to make them *viſible*; whereas the latter are more *fæculent and groſs*, and ſo nearer allied to *palpable conſiſtencies*, and more eaſily reduceable to *appearance* and *viſibility*.

At this turn, Sir, you may perceive that I have again made uſe of the *Platonick Hypotheſis, That Spirits are embodied*, upon which indeed a great part of my Diſcourſe is grounded: And therefore I hold my ſelf obliged to a ſhort account of that ſuppoſal. *It ſeems* then to me very *probable*, from the nature of *Senſe*, and *Analogy* of *Nature*. For (1) we perceive in our ſelves, that all *Senſe* is cauſed and excited by *motion* made in *matter*; and when thoſe *motions* which convey *ſenſible impreſſions* to the *Brain*, the *Seat* of *Senſe*, are intercepted, *Senſe* is loſt: So that, if we ſuppoſe *Spirits* perfectly to be *disjoyn'd* from all *matter*, 'tis not conceivable how they can have the ſenſe of any thing; For how *material Objects* ſhould any way be perceived, or felt, without *vital union* with *matter*, 'tis not poſſible to imagine. Nor doth it (2) ſeem ſuitable to the *Analogy* of *Nature*, which uſeth not to make *precipitious leaps* from one thing to another, but uſually proceeds by *orderly ſteps* and *gradations*: whereas were there no *order* of *Beings* between *Us*, who are ſo deeply plunged into the groſſeſt matter, and *pure unbodied Spirits*, 'twere a mighty *jump* in Nature. Since then

then the greateſt part of the world conſiſts of the *finer* portions of matter, and our own Souls are *immediately united* unto *theſe*, 'tis infinitely probable to conjecture, that the nearer Orders of Spirits are *vitally joyned* to ſuch *Bodies*; and ſo *Nature* by *degrees* aſcending ſtill by the more *refin'd* and *ſubtile matter*, gets at laſt to the pure Nóes or *immaterial minds*, which the *Platoniſts* made the *higheſt Order of created Beings*. But of this I have diſcourſed elſewhere, and have ſaid thus much of it at preſent, becauſe it will enable me to add another Reaſon of the *unfrequency* of *Apparitions* and *Compacts*, *viz.*

(3) Becauſe 'tis very likely, that *theſe Regions* are very *unſuitable*, and *diſproportion'd* to the *frame* and *temper* of their *Senſes* and *Bodies*; ſo that perhaps, the *courſer Spirits* can no more bear the *Air* of our World, than *Bats* and *Owls* can the brighteſt Beams of Day. Nor can the *purer* and *better* any more endure the *noiſom ſteams*, and *poyſonous reeks* of this *Dunghil Earth*, than the *delicate* can bear a confinement in *naſty Dungeons*, and the foul *ſqualid Caverns* of uncomfortable Darkneſs. So that 'tis no more wonder, that the better Spirits no oftner appear, than that men are not more frequently in the *dark Hollows* under ground. Nor is't any more ſtrange that *evil Spirits* ſo rarely viſit us, than that *Fiſhes* do not ordinarily fly in the Air, as 'tis ſaid one ſort of

them doth; or that we see not the *Batt* daily fluttering in the Beams of the Sun. And now by the help of what I have spoken under this Head, I am provided with some things wherewith to disable another Objection, which I thus propose.

## SECT. XII.

### XI.

(XI.) *IF THERE be such an intercourse between* Evil Spirits *and the* Wicked, *How comes it about that there is no correspondence between* Good Angels *and the* Vertuous? *since without doubt* these *are as desirous to propagate the Spirit and designs of the upper and better World, as* those *are to promote the Interest of the* Kingdom *of* Darkness.

WHICH way of arguing is still from our *Ignorance* of the *State* and *Government* of the other World, which *must* be *confest*, and may, without prejudice to the *Proposition* I defend. But particularly, I say, (1) That we have ground enough to believe, that *good Spirits* do interpose in, yea, and *govern* our Affairs. For that there is a *Providence* reaching from Heaven to Earth, is generally acknowledged; but that *this* suppoſeth all things

to

to be ordered by the *immediate influence*, and *interpoſal* of the *Supream Deity*, ſome think, is not very *Philoſophical* to ſuppoſe; ſince, if we judge by the *Analogy* of the *natural World*, all things we ſee are carried on by the *Miniſtery* of *ſecond Cauſes*, and *intermediate Agents*. And it doth not ſeem ſo *magnificent* and *becoming* an apprehenſion of the *Supream Numen*, to fancy his *immediate hand* in every *trivial* Management. But 'tis exceeding likely to conjecture, that much of the *Government* of us, and our Affairs, is committed to the *better Spirits*, with a due *ſubordination* and *ſubſerviency* to the Will of the chief *Rector* of the *Univerſe*. And 'tis not abſurd to believe, that there is a *Government* runs from *higheſt* to *loweſt*, the *better* and *more perfect* Orders of Being ſtill ruling the *inferiour* and *leſs perfect*. So that ſome one would fancy that perhaps the *Angels* may manage *us*, as we do the *Creatures* that God and Nature have placed under our *Empire* and *Dominion*. But however that is, That *God* rules the lower World by the *Miniſtery* of *Angels*, is very conſonant to the *ſacred Oracles*, Thus, *Deut.* XXXII. 8, 9. *When the moſt High divided the Nations their Inheritance, when he ſeparated the ſons of* Adam, *he ſet the bounds of the people,* Κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ, *according to the number of the Angels of God*, as the *Septuagint* renders it; the Authority of which Tranſlation, is abundantly

credited and asserted, by its being quoted in the New Testament, without notice of the *Hebrew* Text; even there where it differs from it, as Learned men have observed. We know also, that *Angels* were very *familiar* with the *Patriarchs* of old; and *Jacob's Ladder* is a *Mystery*, which imports their *ministring* in the affairs of the Lower World. Thus *Origen* and others understand that to be spoken by the *Presidential Angels*, Jerem. LI. 9. *We would have healed* BABYLON, *but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go.* Like the Voice heard in the *Temple* before the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν. And before *Nebuchadnezzar* was sent to learn Wisdom and Religion among the Beasts, *He* sees a *Watcher*, according to the 70. an *Angel*, and an *holy One come down from Heaven*, Dan. IV. 13. who pronounceth the sad *Decree* against *Him*, and calls it the *Decree* of the *Watchers*, who very probably were the *Guardian-Genii of Himself* and his *Kingdom*. And that there are *particular* Angels that have the special *Rule* and *Government* of particular *Kingdoms*, *Provinces*, *Cities*, yea and of *Persons*, I know nothing that can make improbable: The instance is notorious in *Daniel*, of the *Angels* of *Persia* and *Græcia*, that hindred the other that was engaged for the concerns of *Judæa*: yea, our Saviour himself tells us, that *Children have their Angels*; and the Congregation of Disciples

ciples ſuppoſed that St. *Peter* had *his*. Which things, if they be granted, the good Spirits have not ſo little to do with us, and our matters, as is generally believed. And perhaps it would not be abſurd, if we referr'd many of the *ſtrange thwarts*, and *unexpected events*, the *diſappointments* and *lucky co-incidences* that befal us, the *unaccountable fortunes* and *ſucceſſes* that *attend* ſome *lucky* men, and the *unhappy fates* that dog others that ſeem born to be *miſerable*; the *Fame* and *Favour* that ſtill waits on ſome without any conceivable *motive* to allure it, and the *general neglect* of others more *deſerving*, whoſe *worth* is not *acknowledg'd*; I ſay, theſe, and ſuch like *odd* things, may with the greateſt probability be reſolved into the *Conduct* and *Menages* of thoſe *inviſible Supervi ſors*, that preſide over, and govern our affairs.

*But if they ſo far concern themſelves in our matters, how is it that they appear not to maintain a* viſible *and* confeſt correſpondence *with ſome of the* better Mortals, *who are moſt fitted for their Communications and their influence?* To which I have ſaid ſome *things* already, when I accounted for the *unfrequency* of *Apparitions*; and I now add what I intend for another return to the main Objection, *viz.*

(2) That the *apparition* of *good Spirits* is not needful for the Deſigns of the *better world*, whatever ſuch may be for the intereſt of the

other. For we have had the *Appearance* and *Cohabitation* of the *Son* of *God*; we have *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, and the continued *influence* of the *Spirit*, the *greateſt arguments* to ſtrengthen *Faith*, the moſt *powerful motives* to excite our *Love*, and the *nobleſt encouragements* to quicken and raiſe our *Deſires* and *Hopes*, any of which are more than the *apparition* of an *Angel*; which would indeed be a great *gratification* of the *Animal Life*, but 'twould render our *Faith* leſs noble and leſs generous, were it frequently ſo aſſiſted: *Bleſſed are they that believe, and yet have not ſeen.* Beſides which, the *good Angels* have no ſuch *ends* to proſecute, as the gaining any Vaſſals to ſerve them, they being *miniſtring Spirits for our good*, and no *ſelf-deſigners* for a *proud and inſolent Dominion* over us. And it may be perhaps not impertinently added, That they are not always *evil Spirits* that *appear*, as is, I know not well upon what grounds, generally imagined; but that the extraordinary *detections* of *Murders*, *latent Treaſures*, *falſified* and *unfulfilled Bequeſts*, which are ſometimes made by *Apparitions*, may be the courteous Diſcoveries of the better and more benign *Genii*. Yea, 'tis not unlikely, that thoſe *warnings* that the world ſometimes hath of approaching *Judgements* and *Calamities* by *Prodigies*, and ſundry *odd Phænomena*, are the *kind Informations* of ſome of the Inhabitants of the upper world. Thus, was *Jeruſalem*

*ſalem* forewarned before its ſacking by *Antiochus*, by thoſe *airy Horſemen* that were ſeen through all the City, for almoſt forty days together, 2 *Mac.* V. 2, 3. and the other *Prodigious Portents* that fore-ran its Deſtruction by *Titus*: which I mention, becauſe they are *notorious inſtances*. And though, for mine own part, I ſcorn the *ordinary Tales of Prodigies*, which proceed from *ſuperſtitious fears*, and *unacquaintance* with *Nature*, and have been uſed to bad purpoſes by the *zealous* and the *ignorant*; Yet I think that the Arguments that are brought by a late very ingenious Author, to conclude againſt ſuch Warnings and Predictions in the whole kind, are *ſhort* and *inconſequent*, and built upon too narrow *Hypotheſes*. For if it be ſuppoſed, that there is a ſort of Spirits over us, and about us, who can give a probable gueſs at the more *remarkable futurities*, I know not why it may not be conjectured, that the kindneſs they have for us, and the appetite of foretelling ſtrange things, and the putting the world upon expectation, which we find is very grateful to our own natures, may not incline them alſo to give us ſome general notice of thoſe uncommon Events which they foreſee. And I yet perceive no reaſon we have to fancy, that whatever is done in this kind, muſt needs be either *immediately* from *Heaven*, or from the *Angels*, by *extraordinary Commiſſion* and *Appointment*. But it ſeems to

me

me not unreaſonable to believe, that *thoſe officious Spirits* that overſee our Affairs, perceiving ſome *mighty and ſad alterations* at hand, in which their *Charge* is much concerned, cannot chuſe, by reaſon of their *affection* to us, but give us ſome *ſeaſonable hints* of thoſe *approaching Calamities*; to which alſo their natural deſire to *foretel ſtrange things* to come, may contribute to incline them. And by this *Hypotheſis*, the *faireſt probabilities*, and *ſtrongeſt ratiocinations* againſt *Prodigies*, may be made unſerviceable. But this onely by the way.

## SECT. XIII.

I Deſire it may be conſidered further,

(3) That *God* himſelf affords his *intimacies* and *converſes* to the *better* Souls, that are prepared for *it*; which is a *priviledge* infinitely beyond *Angelical correſpondence*.

I confeſs the *proud* and *phantaſtick pretences* of many of the *conceited Melancholiſts* in *this* age, to *Divine Communion*, have prejudiced divers intelligent perſons againſt the *belief* of any ſuch *happy vouchſafement*; ſo that they conclude the Doctrine of *immediate Communion* with the *Deity* in this *Life* to be but an *high-flown notion* of *warm imagination*, and *over-luſcious ſelf-flattery*; and I acknowledge I have my ſelf had thoughts of this nature, ſuppoſing

posing *Communion* with *God* to be nothing else but the *exercise* of *vertue*, and *that peace*, and *those Comforts* which naturally result from *it*.

But I have considered since, that *God*'s more *near* and *immediate* imparting himself to the Soul that is prepared for that happiness by *divine Love*, *Humility*, and *Resignation*, in the way of a *vital touch*, and *sense*, is a thing *possible* in it self, and will be a great part of our *Heaven*. That *Glory* is begun in *Grace*, and *God* is pleased to give some *excellent* Souls the *happy Antepast*. That *holy* men in *ancient* times have *sought* and *gloried* in *this enjoyment*, and never *complain so sorely* as when it was *withheld*, and *interrupted*. That the *expressions* of *Scripture* run infinitely *this way*, and the *best* of Modern good men, do from their own experience *attest it*. That *this spiritualizeth Religion*, and renders its *enjoyments* more *comfortable* and *delicious*. That it keeps the Soul under a *vivid sense* of *God*, and is a *grand security* against *Temptation*. That it holds it steady amid the *flatteries* of a *prosperous* state, and gives it the most *grounded anchorage* and *support* amid the *Waves* of an *adverse condition*. That 'tis the noblest *encouragement* to *vertue*, and the *biggest* assurance of an *happy* Immortality. I say, I considered these *weighty* things, and wondred at the *carelesness* and *prejudice* of thoughts that occasion'd my suspecting the

*reality*

*reality* of ſo glorious a Priviledge; I ſaw how little reaſon there is in denying matters of *inward ſenſe*, becauſe our ſelves do not *feel* them, or cannot form an apprehenſion of them in our minds. I am convinced that things of *guſt* and *reliſh* muſt be judg'd by the *ſentient* and *vital faculties*, and not by the *noetical exerciſes* of *ſpeculative* underſtandings: And upon the whole, I believe infinitely that the *Divine Spirit* affords its *ſenſible preſence*, and *immediate beatifick Touch* to ſome rare Souls, who are diveſted of *carnal* ſelf, and *mundane pleaſures*, *abſtracted* from the *Body* by *Prayer* and *holy Meditation*; *ſpiritual* in their *Deſires*, and *calm* in their *Affections*; *devout* Lovers of *God*, and *vertue*, and *tenderly affectionate* to all the world; *ſincere* in their *aims*, and *circumſpect* in their *actions*; *inlarged* in their Souls, and *clear* in their Minds: Theſe I think are the *diſpoſitions* that are requiſite to fit us for *Divine Communion*; and *God* tranſacts not in this *near* way, but with *prepared ſpirits* who are thus diſpoſed for the *manifeſtation* of his *preſence*, and his *influence*: And ſuch, I believe, he never fails to bleſs with theſe *happy foretaſtes* of *Glory*.

But for thoſe that are *paſſionate* and *conceited*, *turbulent* and *notional*, *confident* and *immodeſt*, *imperious* and *malicious*; That *doat* upon *trifles*, and *run fiercely* in the *ways* of a *Sect*, that are *lifted* up in the apprehenſion of the *glorious*

*prerogatives*

*prerogatives* of *themſelves* and their *party*, and ſcorn all the world beſides; For ſuch, I ſay, *be their pretenſions what they will*, to *divine Communion*, *Illapſes*, and *Diſcoveries*, I believe them not; Their *fancies abuſe* them, or *they would* us. For what *communion* hath *Light* with *Darkneſs*, or the *Spirit* of the *HOLY ONE* with *thoſe* whoſe *genius* and *ways* are ſo unlike him? But the other *excellent* Souls I deſcribed, will as certainly be viſited by the *Divine Preſence*, and *Converſe*, as the *Cryſtalline ſtreams* are, with the *beams* of *Light*, or the fitly prepar'd *Earth* whoſe *Seed* is in it ſelf, will be actuated by the *ſpirit* of *Nature*.

So that there is no reaſon to object here the want of *Angelical Communications*, though there were none vouchſafed us, ſince *good men* enjoy the *Divine*, which are infinitely more *ſatisfactory* and *indearing*.

And now I may have leave to proceed to the next *Objection*, which may be made to ſpeak thus:

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## SECT. XIV.

### XII.

(XII.) *THE belief of* Witches, *and the wonderful things they are ſaid to perform by the help of the* Confederate Dæmon, *weakens*

*weakens our* Faith, *and expoſeth the World to* Infidelity *in the great matters of our Religion. For if they by Diabolical aſſiſtance, can* inflict *and* cure *Diſeaſes, and do things ſo much beyond the* comprehenſion *of our* Philoſophy, *and* activity *of common Nature; What aſſurance can we have, that the* Miracles *that confirm our Goſpel were not the effects of a* Compact *of like nature, and that* Devils *were not caſt out by* Beelzebub? *If* evil Spirits *can* aſſume *Bodies, and render themſelves* viſible in humane likeneſs; *What ſecurity can we have of the reality of the* Reſurrection *of* Chriſt? *And if, by their help,* Witches *can enter Chambers* inviſibly *through* Key-holes *and little* unperceived Crannies, *and* transform *themſelves at pleaſure; What Arguments of* Divinity *are there in our* Saviour's *ſhewing himſelf in the midſt of his* Diſciples, *when the Doors were* ſhut, *and his* Transfiguration *in the Mount*? Miracles *are the great inducements of Belief, and how ſhall we diſtinguiſh a* Miracle *from a* lying Wonder; *a* Teſtimony *from* Heaven, *from a* Trick *of the* Angels *of* Hell; *if they can perform things that aſtoniſh and confound our Reaſons, and are beyond all the* Poſſibilities *of Human Nature?* This *Objection* is ſpiteful and miſchievous; but I thus endeavour to diſpatch it.

(1) THE Wonders done by *Confederacy with wicked Spirits,* cannot derive a ſuſpi-

ſuſpicion upon the undoubted *Miracles* that were wrought by the Author and Promulgers of our Religion, as if *they* were performed by *Diabolical Compact*, ſince their *Spirit*, *Endeavours*, and *Deſigns*, were notoriouſly contrary to all the *Tendencies*, *Aims*, and *Intereſts* of the *Kingdom* of *Darkneſs*. For, as to the Life and Temper of the bleſſed and adorable JESUS, we know there was an incomparable *ſweetneſs* in his *Nature*, *Humility* in his *Manners*, *Calmneſs* in his *Temper*, *Compaſſion* in his *Miracles*, *Modeſty* in his *Expreſſions*, *Holineſs* in all his *Actions*, *Hatred* of *Vice* and *Baſeneſs*, and *Love* to all the World; all which are *eſſentially contrary* to the Nature and Conſtitution of *Apoſtate Spirits*, who abound in *Pride* and *Rancour*, *Inſolence* and *Rudeneſs*, *Tyranny* and *Baſeneſs*, univerſal *Malice*, and *Hatred* of *Men*. And their *Deſigns* are as oppoſite, as their *Spirit* and their *Genius*. And now, Can the *Sun* borrow its Light from the *bottomleſs Abyſs*? Can *Heat* and *Warmth* flow in upon the World from the Regions of *Snow* and *Ice*? Can *Fire freeze*, and *Water burn*? Can Natures, ſo infinitely contrary, *communicate*, and jump in *projects* that are *deſtructive* to each others *known Intereſts*? Is there any Balſom in the *Cockatrices Egg*? or, Can the *Spirit* of *Life* flow from the *Venome* of the *Aſp*? Will the *Prince* of *Darkneſs* ſtrengthen the *Arm* that is *ſtretcht* out to pluck his *Uſurpt Scepter*, and his *Spoils* from him? And will he

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lend his *Legions*, to aſſiſt the *Armies* of his *Enemy* againſt him? No, theſe are impoſſible Suppoſals; No intelligent Being will induſtriouſly and knowingly contribute to the *Contradiction* of its own *Principles*, the *Defeature* of its *Purpoſes*, and the *Ruine* of its own dearest *Intereſts*. There is no fear then, that our Faith ſhould receive prejudice from the *acknowledgement* of the *Being* of *Witches*, and *power* of *evil Spirits*, ſince 'tis not the *doing wonderful things* that is the onely *Evidence* that the *Holy JESUS* was from God, and his *Doctrine true*; but the *conjunction* of other circumſtances, the *holineſs* of his *Life*, the *reaſonableneſs* of his *Religion*, and the *excellency* of his *Deſigns*, added credit to his Works, and ſtrengthned the *great Concluſion*, *That he could be no other than the Son of God*, *and Saviour of the world*. But beſides, I ſay,

(2) That ſince *infinite Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs* rules the World, it cannot be conceived, that they ſhould give up the greateſt part of men to *unavoidable deception*. And if *evil Angels* by their *Confederates* are permitted to perform ſuch *aſtoniſhing* things, as ſeem ſo evidently to carry *God's Seal* and *Power* with them, for the confirmation of *Falſhoods*, and gaining credit to *Impoſtors*, without any *counter-evidence* to diſabuſe the World; Mankind is expoſed to *ſad* and *fatal deluſion*. And to ſay that *Providence* will ſuffer us to be deceived in things of

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the greateſt concernment, when we uſe the leaſt of our care and endeavours to prevent it, is to ſpeak hard things of *God*; and in effect to affirm, That He hath nothing to do in the Government of the World, or doth not concern himſelf in the affairs of poor forlorn men. And if the *Providence* and *Goodneſs* of God be not a ſecurity unto us againſt ſuch *Deceptions*, we cannot be aſſured, but that we are always abuſed by thoſe *miſchievous Agents*, in the *Objects* of *plain ſenſe*, and in all the matters of our daily Converſes. If *ONE* that pretends he is *immediately* ſent from *God*, to overthrow the ancient *Fabrick* of Eſtabliſhed *Worſhip*, and to erect a *New Religion* in *His* Name, ſhall be *born* of a *Virgin*, and honour'd by a *miraculous Star*; proclaimed by a *Song* of ſeeming *Angels* of *Light*, and *worſhipped* by the *wiſe Sages* of the World; Revered by thoſe of the greateſt *auſterity*, and *admired* by all for a *miraculous Wiſdom*, beyond his *Education* and his *Years*: If He ſhall feed *multitudes* with almoſt *nothing*, and *faſt himſelf* beyond all the *poſſibilities* of Nature: If He ſhall be *transformed* into the appearance of *extraordinary Glory*, and converſe with departed *Prophets* in their *viſible Forms*: If He ſhall Cure all Diſeaſes without *Phyſick* or *Endeavour*, and raiſe the *Dead* to *Life* after they have *ſtunk* in their *Graves*: If He ſhall be honoured by *Voices* from *Heaven*, and attract the univerſal *wonder*

of Princes and People: If He ſhall allay *Tempeſts* with a *beck*, and caſt out *Devils* with a *word*: If He ſhall foretel his own Death particularly, with its *Tragical Circumſtances*, and his *Reſurrection* after it: If the *Veil* of the moſt famous *Temple* in the world ſhall be *rent*, and the *Sun darkned* at his *Funeral*: If He ſhall, within the time foretold, break the bonds of Death, and lift up his Head out of the Grave: If *Multitudes* of other *departed Souls* ſhall *ariſe* with *Him*, to attend at the *Solemnity* of his *Reſurrection*: If He ſhall after Death, *viſibly converſe*, and eat and drink with divers perſons, who could not be deceived in a matter of *clear ſenſe*, and *aſcend* in Glory in the preſence of an aſtoniſht and admiring Multitude: I ſay, if ſuch a one as this ſhould prove a *diabolical Impoſtor*, and Providence ſhould permit him to be ſo credited and acknowledged; What poſſibility were there then for us to be aſſured, that we are not always *deceived*? yea, that our very faculties were not given us onely to delude and abuſe us? And if ſo, the next Concluſion is, *That there is no God that judgeth in the earth*; and the beſt, and moſt likely *Hypotheſis* will be, *That the world is given up to the Government of the Devil.* But if there be a *Providence* that ſuperviſeth us, (as nothing is more certain) doubtleſs it will never ſuffer poor helpleſs Creatures to be *inevitably deceived* by the *craft* and *ſubtilty* of their *miſchievous Enemy*,

*Enemy*, to their undoing; but will without queſtion take ſuch care, that the *works* wrought by *Divine Power* for the Confirmation of *Divine Truth*, ſhall have ſuch *viſible Marks* and *Signatures*, if not in their *Nature*, yet in their *Circumſtances*, *Ends*, and *Deſigns*, as ſhall diſcover *whence they are*, and ſufficiently *diſtinguiſh* them from all *Impoſtures* and *Deluſions*. And though wicked ſpirits may perform ſome ſtrange things that may excite wonder for a while, yet *He hath*, and *will* ſo provide, that they ſhall be *baffled* and *diſcredited*; as we know it was in the caſe of *Moſes* and the *Ægyptian Magicians*.

*Theſe* things I count ſufficient to be ſaid to this *laſt*, and *ſhrewdeſt Objection*; Though *ſome*, I underſtand, *except*, that I have made it *ſtronger* than the *Anſwer* I have applied. That I have urged the *argument* of *unbelievers home*, and repreſented it in its *full ſtrength*, I ſuppoſe can be no matter of juſt-*reproof*: For to triumph over the *weakneſs* of a *Cauſe*, and to overlook its *ſtrength*, is the trick of *ſhallow* and *intereſſed Diſputers*, and the worſt way to *defend* a *good Cauſe*, or confute a *bad* one. I have therefore all along urged the moſt *cogent* things I could think of, for the intereſt of the *Objectors*, becauſe I would not *impoſe* upon my *Reader* or *my ſelf*; and the *ſtronger* I make their *premiſes*, the *more* ſhall I *weaken their Concluſion*, if I *anſwer* them; which whether I have *done*, or *not*, I refer my ſelf to the judgments of

the *ingenious* and *conſiderate*; from whom I ſhould be very glad to be informed in what particular points my Diſcourſe is defective. *General Charges* are no *proofs*, nor are they eaſily *capable* of an anſwer. Yet, to the *mention'd exception* I ſay

That the *ſtrength* of the *Objection* is not my *fault*, for the *reaſons* alledg'd; and for the *ſuppoſed incompetency* of my *return*, I propoſe, that if the *circumſtances* of the *Perſons*, *Ends*, and *Iſſues* be the *beſt Notes* of *Diſtinction* between *true Miracles* and *Forgeries*, *Divine* and *Diabolical ones*, I have then ſaid *enough* to ſecure the *Miracles* of our *Saviour*, and the *Holy* men of Ancient times. But if *theſe Objectors* think, they can give us any *better*, or more *infallible Criteria*, I deſire them to weigh what I have offer'd about *Miracles* in ſome of the following Leaves, before they enter *that thought* among their *certainties*. And if their other *marks* of *difference* will hold, notwithſtanding thoſe *allegations*, I ſuppoſe the *inquiſitive believing* world would be glad to *know* them; and I ſhall have *particular obligations* to the *diſcoverer*, for the *ſtrength* with which he will thereby aſſiſt my *Anſwer*.

But till I ſee *that*, I can ſay nothing *ſtronger*; or if I ſaw it, which I ſhall not in haſte expect, I ſhould not be convinced but that the *circumſtances* of *difference* which I have noted, are abundantly *ſufficient* to *diſarm* the *Objection*;

and

and to ſhew, that though *Apparitions*, *Witchcraft*, and *daibolical Wonders* are admitted: yet none of theſe can faſten any *ſlurre*, or ground of *dangerous doubt* upon the *miraculous* performances of the *H. JESUS* and his *Apoſtles*. If the *diſſatisfied* can ſhew it, I ſhall yield my ſelf an humble *proſelyte* to their *Reaſons*; but till I know them, the *general* ſuggeſtion will not convince me.

Now, beſides what I have directly ſaid to the main *Objection*, I have this to add to the *Objectors*, That I could wiſh they would take care of ſuch *Suggeſtions*; which, if they overthrow not the Opinion they oppoſe, will dangerouſly affront the Religion they would ſeem to acknowledge. For he that ſaith, *That if there are* WITCHES, *there is no way to prove that* Chriſt Jeſus *was not a Magician, and diabolical Impoſtor*, puts a *deadly* Weapon into the *hands* of the *Infidel*, and is himſelf next door to the *SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST*: of which, in order to the *perſwading* greater *tenderneſs* and *caution* in ſuch matters, I give this ſhort account.

## SECT. XV.

THE *Sin* againſt the *Holy Ghoſt* is ſaid to be *Unpardonable*; by which *ſad* Attribute, and the diſcourſe of our *Saviour*,

*Matth.* XII. from the 22. to the 33. *verſe*, we may underſtand its Nature. In order to which we conſider, That ſince the *Mercies* of *God*, and the *Merits* of his *Son*, are *infinite*, there is nothing can make a Sin *unpardonable*, but what makes it *incurable*; and there is no Sin but what is curable by a *ſtrong Faith*, and a *vigorous Endeavour*: *For all things are poſſible to him that believeth.* So that, *That* which makes a Sin *incurable*, muſt be ſomewhat that makes *Faith impoſſible*, and obſtructs all means of Conviction. In order to the finding which, we muſt conſider the ways and methods the Divine Goodneſs hath taken, for the begetting *Faith*, and cure of *Infidelity*: which it attempted, firſt, by the Prophets, and holy men of ancient times, who, by the *excellency* of their *Doctrine*, the *greatneſs* of their *Miracles*, and the *holineſs* of their *Lives*, endeavoured the conviction and reformation of a ſtubborn and unbelieving World. But though *Few believed their Report*, and men would not be prevail'd on by what they did, or what they ſaid; yet their *Infidelity* was not hitherto *incurable*, becauſe further *means* were provided in the *miniſtry* of *John* the *Baptiſt*, whoſe Life was more *ſevere*, whoſe Doctrines were more plain, preſſing, and particular; and therefore 'twas poſſible that He might have ſucceeded. Yea, and where He failed, and could not open mens hearts and their eyes, the effect was ſtill in *poſ-*

*ſibility*,

*ſibility*, and it might be expected from *Him* that came after, to whom the *Prophets* and *John* were but the *Twilight* and the *Dawn*. And though *His miraculous Birth*, the *Song of Angels*, the *Journey* of the *Wiſe Men* of the *Eaſt*, and the *correſpondence* of *Prophecies*, with the *Circumſtances* of the *firſt appearance* of the *wonderful Infant*: I ſay, though theſe had not been taken notice of, yet was there a further proviſion made for the *cure of Infidelity*, in his *aſtoniſhing Wiſdom*, and moſt *excellent Doctrines*; For, *He ſpake as never man did*. And when *Theſe* were deſpiſed and neglected, yet there were other means towards *Conviction*, and *cure of Unbelief*, in thoſe mighty *works* that bore Teſtimony of *Him*, and wore the evident marks of *Divine Power* in their Foreheads. But when after all, Theſe *clear* and *unqueſtionable Miracles* which were wrought by the *Spirit of God*, and had eminently his *Superſcription* on them, ſhall be aſcribed to the *Agency of evil Spirits*, and *Diabolical Compact*, as they were by the *malicious* and *ſpightful Phariſees* in the *periods* above-mentioned; when thoſe *great* and *laſt Teſtimonies* againſt *Infidelity*, ſhall be ſaid to be but the *tricks* of *Sorcery*, and *Complotment* with *Helliſh Confederates*, This is *Blaſphemy* in the higheſt, againſt the *Power* and *Spirit of God*, and *ſuch* as *cuts off all means of Conviction*, and puts the Unbeliever beyond all *poſſibilities of Cure*. For *Miracles* are God's *Seal*, and the

great and laſt evidence of the truth of any Doctrine. And though, while theſe are onely disbelieved as to the *Fact*, there remains a *poſſibility* of *perſwaſion*; yet, when the *Fact* ſhall be acknowledg'd, but the Power *blaſphemed*, and the effects of the adorable *Spirit maliciouſly* imputed to the *Devils*; ſuch a *Blaſphemy*, ſuch an *Infidelity* is *incurable*, and conſequently *unpardonable*. I ſay, in ſum, the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſeems to be a *malicious imputation* of the *Miracles* wrought by the *Spirit* of God in our Saviour, to *Satanical Confederacy*, and the power of *Apoſtate Spirits*; Than which nothing is more *blaſphemous*, and nothing is more like to provoke the *Holy Spirit* that is ſo abuſed, to an *Eternal Dereliction* of ſo *vile* and ſo *incurable* an Unbeliever.

This account, as 'tis clear and reaſonable in it ſelf, ſo it is plainly lodg'd in the mention'd Diſcourſe of our Saviour. And moſt of thoſe that ſpeak other things about it, ſeem to me to talk at random, and perfectly without Book. But to leave them to the fondneſs of their own conceits, I think it now time to draw up to a Concluſion of the whole.

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## SECT. XVI.

THEREFORE briefly, Sir, I have endeavoured in theſe Papers, which my reſpect

ſpect and your concernment in the ſubject have made *yours*, to remove the main prejudices I could think of, againſt the exiſtence of *Witches* and *Apparitions*: And I'm ſure I have ſuggeſted much more againſt what I defend, than ever I heard or ſaw in any that oppoſed it; whoſe Diſcourſes, for the moſt part, have ſeemed to me inſpired by a *lofty ſcorn of common belief*, and ſome *trivial Notions of Vulgar Philoſophy*. And in deſpiſing the *common Faith* about matters of *fact*, and fondly adhering to *it* in things of *Speculation*, they very groſly and abſurdly miſtake: For in things of *Fact*, the *People* are as much to be believed, as the moſt *ſubtile Philoſophers* and *Speculators*; ſince here, *Senſe* is the Judge. But in matters of *Notions* and *Theory*, *they* are not at all to be heeded, becauſe *Reaſon* is to be Judge of *theſe*, and *this* they know not how to uſe. And yet thus it is with thoſe *wiſe* Philoſophers, that will deny the *plain* evidence of the *Senſes* of Mankind, becauſe they cannot reconcile *appearances* with the fond Crotchets of a Philoſophy, which they lighted on in the *High-way* by *chance*, and will adhere to at *adventure*. So that I profeſs, for mine own part, I never yet heard any of the confident Declaimers againſt *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions*, ſpeak any thing that might move a mind, in any degree inſtructed in the generous kinds of *Philoſophy* and *Nature* of *things*. And for the *Objections* I have re-

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cited, they are moſt of them ſuch as roſe out of mine own thoughts, which I obliged to conſider what was poſſible to be ſaid upon this *occaſion*.

For though I have examined *SCOT's DISCOVERY*, fancying that there I ſhould find the *ſtrong reaſons* of mens *diſbelief* in this matter; yet I profeſs I met not with the leaſt ſuggeſtion in all that *Farrago*, but what it had been ridiculous for me to have gone about to *anſwer*: For the Author doth *little* but tell *odd Tales*, and *ſilly Legends*, which he confutes and laughs at, and pretends this to be a *Confutation* of the Being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. In all which, His *Reaſonings* are *trifling* and *Childiſh*; and when He ventures at *Philoſophy*, He is little better than *abſurd*: So that 'twill be a wonder to me, if any but *Boyes* and *Buffoons* imbibe any *prejudices* againſt a Belief ſo infinitely confirmed, from the *Looſe* and *Impotent Suggeſtions* of ſo weak a Diſcourſer.

But however, obſerving two things in that *Diſcourſe* that would pretend to be more than ordinary *Reaſons*, I ſhall do them the civility to examine them. It is ſaid then,

(1) THat the *Goſpel is ſilent*, as to the *Being* of *WITCHES*; and 'tis not likely, if there were *ſuch*, but that our *Saviour* or his *Apoſtles* had given intimations of their exiſtence. The other is, (2)

(2) *Miracles are ceased*, and therefore the *prodigious* things ascribed to **Witchcraft** are supposed *Dreams* and *Impostures.*

FOR ANSWER to the FIRST in order, I consider (1) That though the *History* of the *New Testament* were granted to be silent in the business of *Witches* and *Compacts*, yet the *Records* of the *Old* have a frequent mention of them. The *Law*, Exod. XXII. 18. against permitting *them to live* (which I mention'd in the beginning) is *famous*. And we have another remarkable *Prohibition of them*, Deut. XVIII. 10, 11. *There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a WITCH, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer.* Now this accumulation of Names, (some of which are of the same sence and import) is a plain indication that the *HEBREW WITCH* was one that practised by *compact with evil Spirits.* And many of the same expressions are put together in the Charge against *Manasses*, II *Chron.* XXXIII. *viz.* That he *caused his Children to pass through the Fire, observed Times, used Enchantments*, and **Witchcraft**, and dealt with *Familiar Spirits*, and

with

with *WIZZARDS*. So that though the *Original* word which we render *WITCH* and *WITCHCRAFT*, ſhould, as our Sadducees urge; ſignifie onely a *CHEAT* and a *POISONER*; yet thoſe others mention'd, plainly enough ſpeak the thing; and I have given an account in the former *Conſiderations*, how a *WITCH* in the common notion is a *Poyſoner*. But why mere *poyſoning* ſhould have a diſtinct *Law* againſt it, and not be concluded under the general one againſt *Murder*; why mere *Legerdemain* and *Cheating* ſhould be ſo ſeverely animadverted on, as to be reckon'd with *Enchantments*, *converſe* with *Devils*, and *Idolatrous practices*: I believe the *denier of WITCHES* will find it hard to give a reaſon. To which I may add ſome other paſſages of Scripture that yield ſufficient evidence in the caſe. The Nations are forbid to hearken to the *Diviners*, *Dreamers*, *Enchanters*, and *Sorcerers*, Jer. XXVII. 9. the *Chaldæans* are deeply threatned for their *Sorceries* and *Enchantments*, Iſa. XLVII. 9. And we read that *Nebuchadnezzar* called the *Magicians*, *Aſtrologers*, *Sorcerers*, and *Chaldæans*, to tell his *Dream*. My mention of which laſt, minds me to ſay, that for ought I have to the contrary, there may be a ſort of **Witches** and **Magicians** that have no *Familiars*, that they *know*, nor any *expreſs compact with Apoſtate Spirits*; who yet may perhaps act *ſtrange*

things

things by *diabolick Aids*, which they procure by the uſe of thoſe *Forms*, and wicked *Arts* that the *Devil* did firſt impart to his *Confederates*: And we know not but the *Laws* of that *dark Kingdom* may enjoyn a particular attendance upon all thoſe that practiſe their *Myſteries*, whether they *know* them to be *theirs*, or not. For a great intereſt of their *Empire* may be ſerved by this project, ſince thoſe that find ſuch ſucceſs in the *unknown Conjurations*, may by that be toll'd on to more *expreſs tranſactions* with thoſe *Fiends*, that have aſſiſted them *incognito*: Or, if they proceed not ſo far, yet they run upon a *Rock* by acting in the *dark*, and dealing in *unknown* and *unwarranted Arts*, in which the *effect* is much beyond the *proper efficiency* of the things they uſe, and affords ground of more than ſupicion that ſome *evil Spirit* is the *Agent* in thoſe wondrous performances.

Upon this account I ſay, it is not to me unlikely but that the *Devils* may by their own *Conſtitution* be *bound* to attend upon all that uſe their *Ceremonies* and *Forms*, though *ignorantly*, and without *deſign* of evil; and ſo Conjuration may have been performed by thoſe who are none of the *Covenant*-Sorcerers and Witches. Among *thoſe* perhaps we may juſtly reckon *Balaam*, and the *Diviners*. For *Balaam*, *Moncæus* hath undertaken to clear him from the *guilt* of the *greater Sorcery*. And the *Diviners* are

uſually

uſually *diſtinctly* mentioned from thoſe that had *Familiar Spirits*. The *Aſtrologers* alſo of *Elder* times, and thoſe of *ours*, I take to have been of this ſort of *Magicians*, and *ſome* of them under the colour of that *myſtical* Scienee, *worſe*. And I queſtion not, but that things are really done, and foretold by thoſe *pretended Artiſts*, that are much beyond the *regular poſſibilities* of their *Art*; which in this appears to be exceedingly *uncertain* and *precarious*, in that there are no leſs than *ſix* ways of *erecting* a *Scheme*, in each of which the *prediction* of *Events* ſhall be *different*, and yet every one of them be juſtifiable by the *Rules* of that *Science*. And the *Principles* they go upon, are found to be very *arbitrary* and *unphiloſophical*, not by the *ordinary Declaimers* againſt it, but by the moſt *profound inquirers* into things, who perfectly *underſtand* the whole *Myſtery*, and are the onely *competent Judges*.

Now thoſe *Myſtical Students* may in their firſt addreſſes to this *Science*, have no other deſign, but the ſatisfaction of their *curioſity* to know *remote* and *hidden things*; yet *that* in the progreſs being not ſatisfied within the bounds of their *Art*, doth many times *tempt* the *curious* Inquirer to uſe *worſe* means of *Information*; and no doubt thoſe *miſchievous* Spirits that are as vigilant as the *Beaſts of Prey*, and watch all occaſions to get us within their *envious reach*, are more conſtant *Attenders*,

and

and careful *Spyes* upon the Actions and Inclinations of ſuch, whoſe *genius* and *deſigns* prepare them for their *Temptations.* So that I look on **Judicial Aſtrology** as a fair Introduction to *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft.* And who knows but that it was firſt ſet on foot by the *Infernal Hunters,* as a Lure to draw the *Curioſo's* into thoſe ſnares that lie hid beyond it. And yet I believe alſo, it may be *innocently* enough ſtudied by thoſe, that aim onely to underſtand *what it is,* and *how far it will honeſtly go;* and are not willing to condemn any thing which they do not comprehend. But that they muſt take care to keep themſelves within the bounds of ſober enquiry, and not indulge *irregular ſolicitudes* about the Knowledge of things which *Providence* hath thought fit to *conceal* from us; Which whoever doth, lays himſelf open to the deſigns and ſolicitations of *evil Spirits*; and I believe there are very few among thoſe who have been addicted to thoſe *ſtrange Arts of wonder*, and *prædiction,* but have found themſelves attacqued by ſome *unknown Solicitors*, and inticed by them to the more dangerous *Actions* and *Correſpondencies.* For as there are a ſort of *baſe* and *ſordid Spirits* that *attend* the *envy* and *malice* of the *ignorant,* and *viler* ſort of perſons, and betray them into *Compacts* by *promiſes of Revenge:* So, no doubt, there are a kind of more *airy,* and *ſpeculative Fiends*, of an *higher Rank* and

Order

Order than thoſe *wretched Imps*, who apply themſelves to the *Curious*; and many times prevail with them by offers of the more *recondite knowledge*. As we know it was in the *firſt Temptation*. Yea, and ſometimes they are ſo *cautious*, and *wary* in their Converſations with more *refined* perſons, that they never offer to make any *expreſs Covenants* with them. And to this purpoſe I have been informed by a very Learned and Reverend Doctor, that one Mr. *Edwards* a Maſter of Arts of *Trin.* Coll. in *Cambridge* being reclaimed from *Conjuration*, declared in his *Repentance*, That the *Dæmon* always appeared to him like a man of good Faſhion, and never required any *Compact* from him. And no doubt, they ſort themſelves agreeably to the *ſtate*, *port*, and *genius* of thoſe with whom they *converſe*: Yea, 'tis like, as I conjectured, are *aſſiſtant* ſometimes to thoſe, to whom they dare not ſhew themſelves in any *openneſs* of *appearance*, leſt they ſhould *fright* them from thoſe ways of *Sin* and *Temptation*. So that we ſee; that Men may act by *evil Spirits* without their own knowledge that they do ſo.

And poſſibly *Nebuchadnezzar's Wiſemen* might be of this ſort of *Magicians*; which ſuppoſal I mention the rather, becauſe it may ſerve me againſt ſome things that may be objected: For, it may be ſaid, If *They* had been in *Confederacy* with *Devils*, it is not probable, that

*Daniel*

*Daniel* would have been their *Advocate*, or in ſuch *inoffenſive terms* have diſtinguiſht their *skill* from *Divine Revelation*; nor ſhould *he*, one would think, have accepted the Office of being *Provoſt* over *them*. Theſe Circumſtances may be ſuppoſed to intimate a probability, that the *Magi* of *Babylon* were in no *profest Diabolical Complotment*, and I grant it. But yet they *might*, and in all likelihood *did*, uſe the *Arts* and *Methods* of *Action*, which obtain *Demoniak Co-operation* and *Aſſiſtance*, though without their *privity*, and ſo they were a leſs criminal ſort of *Conjurers*; For thoſe *Arts* were conveyed down along to *them* from one hand to another, and the Succeſſours ſtill took them up from thoſe that preceded without a *Philoſophical Scrutiny*, or *Examen*. They ſaw ſtrange things were *done*, and Events predicted by ſuch *forms*, and ſuch *words*; *How*, they could not tell, nor 'tis like, did not *inquire*; but contented themſelves with this *general* account, That 'twas by the *power* of their *Arts*, and were not *ſollicitous* for any *better* reaſon. This I ſay was probably the caſe of moſt of *thoſe Predictors*, though, it may be, others of them advanced further into the more deſperate part of the *Myſtery*. And that *ſome* did immediately *tranſact* with *appearing* evil Spirits in thoſe times, is apparent enough from expreſs mention in the *Scriptures* I have alledg'd.

And the *ſtory* of the *WITCH* of *ENDOR*,

*DOR*, 1 Sam. XXVIII. is a remarkable *demonstration* of the main Conclusion; which will appear when we have considered and removed the *fancy*, and *glosses* of our *Author* about it, in his *DISCOVERY*: where to avoid this evidence, he affirms, *This WITCH* to be but a *Cozener*, and the whole *Transaction* a *Cheat* and *Imposture*, managed by her *self* and a *Confederate*. And in order to the perswading *this*, he tells a fine *Tale*, viz. That she departed from *Saul* into her *Closet*, "Where doubtless, says he, she had a *Familiar*, some *lewd* "*crafty Priest*, and made *Saul* stand at the *door* "like a *Fool*, to hear the *cozening* Answers. He "saith, she there used the ordinary words of "*Conjuration*; and after them, *Samuel appears*; "whom he affirms to be no other than either "the *Witch* her self, or her *Confederate*. By this *pretty knack* and *contrivance* he thinks he hath disabled the *Relation* from signifying to our purpose.

But the *DISCOVERER* might have considered, that all this is an *Invention*, and *without Book*. For there is no mention of the *Witches Closet*, or her *retiring* into another Room, or her *Confederate*, or her *form* of *Conjuration*: I say, nothing of all this, is as much as intimated in the *History*; and if we may take this *large liberty* in the *interpretation* of *Scripture*, there is scarce a *story* in the *Bible* but may be made a *Fallacy*, and *Imposture*, or any thing

thing that we pleaſe. Nor is this fancy of his onely *arbitrary*, but indeed contrary to the *circumſtances* of the *Text*. For it ſays, *Saul perceived it was Samuel*, and *bowed himſelf*, and *this* Samuel *truly* foretold his approaching *Fate*, viz. That *Iſrael* ſhould be delivered with *him* into the hands of the *Philiſtines*; and that on the morrow *He* and his *Sons* ſhould be in the *ſtate* of the *Dead*, which doubtleſs is meant by the expreſſion, that [ *they ſhould be with him.* ] Which *contingent* particulars, how could the *Cozener* and her *Confederate* foretel, if there were nothing in it *extraordinary* and *preternatural?*

It hath indeed been a great diſpute among *Interpreters*, whether the real *Samuel* was *raiſed*, or the *Devil* in his likeneſs? Moſt later Writers ſuppoſe it to have been an *evil Spirit*, upon the ſuppoſition that *good* and *happy* Souls can never return hither from their *Cœleſtial* abodes; and they are not certainly at the beck and call of an impious Hagg. But then thoſe of the other ſide urge, that the *Piety* of the words that were ſpoke, and the *ſeaſonable reproof* given to *deſpairing* Saul, are *indications* ſufficient that they come not from Hell; and eſpecially they think the *Prophecie of Circumſtances* very *accidental* to be an argument, that it was not utter'd by any of the *infernal Predictors*. And for the *ſuppoſal* that is the ground of *that interpretation*, 'tis judged exceedingly

*precarious*; for *who ſaith* that *happy* departed *Souls* were never employed in any *miniſteries* here below? And thoſe diſſenters are ready to ask a reaſon, why they may not be ſent in Meſſages to *Earth*, as well as *thoſe* of the *Angelical* Order? They are nearer *allied* to our *Natures*, and upon that account more *intimately concerned* in our affairs; and the example of *returning Lazarus* is evidence of the thing *de facto*. Beſides which, that it was the real *Samuel* they think made probable by the opinion of *Jeſus* the ſon of *Syrac*, Eccluſ. XLVI. 19, 20. who ſaith of him, That *after his death he propheſied and ſhewed the King his end*: which alſo is *likely* from the circumſtance of the womans *aſtoniſhment*, and *crying* out when ſhe ſaw him, intimating her *ſurprize*, in that the power of God had over-ruled her *Enchantments*, and ſent another than ſhe expected. And they conceive there is no more incongruity in ſuppoſing God ſhould ſend *Samuel* to rebuke *Saul* for this his laſt folly, and to predict his inſtant ruine, than in his interpoſing *Elias* to the Meſſengers of *Ahazias* when he ſent to *Beelzebub*. Now if it were the real *Samuel*, as the *Letter* expreſſeth, (and the obvious ſence is to be followed when there is no cogent reaſon to decline it) he was not *raiſed* by the *power* of the *Witches Enchantments*, but came on that occaſion in a *Divine Errand*. But yet *attempts* and *endeavours* to raiſe her *Familiar Spirit*,

(though

(though at that time over-ruled) are Arguments that it had been her cuſtom to do ſo. Or if it were as the other ſide concludes, the *Devil* in the ſhape of *Samuel*, her *diabolical Confederacy* is yet more *palpable*.

## SECT. XVIII.

I HAVE now done with *SCOT*, and his *preſumptions*; and am apt to fancy, that there is nothing more needful to be ſaid to *diſcover* the *Diſcoverer*. But there is an *Author* infinitely more valuable, that calls me to conſider him, 'Tis the great *Epiſcopius*, who, though he grants a ſort of *Witches* and *Magicians*, yet denies *Compacts*. His *Authority*, I confeſs, is *conſiderable*, but let us weigh his *Reaſons*.

His *Firſt* is, That there is no *example* of any of the *prophane Nations* that were in ſuch *Compact*; whence he would *infer*, that there are no *expreſs Covenants* with *evil Spirits* in *particular* inſtances. But I think that both *propoſition* and *conſequence*, are very *obnoxious* and *defective*. For that there *were Nations* that did actually *worſhip* the *Devil* is plain enough in the Records of *ancient* times, and ſome ſo read that place in the Pſalms, *The Gods of the Heathen are Devils*; and *Sathan* we know is call'd the *God of this World*. Yea, our Author him-

self confesseth that the Nation of the *Jews* were so strictly prohibited *Witchcraft*, and all *transaction* with *evil Spirits*; because of their *proneness* to *worship* them. But what need more? There *are* at *this* day that pay *sacrifice*, and all *sacred homage* to the **wicked One** in a *visible* appearance; and 'tis well known to those of our *own* that *traffick*, and reside in those parts, that the *Caribbians* worship the *Devil* under the name of *Maboya*, who frequently shews himself, and transacts with them; the like Travellers relate concerning divers other parts of the *barbarous Indies*: and 'tis confidently reported by sober intelligent men that have visited those places, that most of the *Laplanders*, and some other *Northern* people, are *Witches*. That 'tis plain that there are *National Confederacies with Devils*; or, if there were none, I see not how it could be inferred *thence*, that there are no *personal* ones, no more, than that there were never any *Dæmoniacks*, because we know of no *Nation universally possessed*; nor any *Lunaticks* in the world, because there is no *Country* of *Madmen*. But our *Author* reasons again,

(2) To this purpose; "That the *profligate* "persons who are *obnoxious* to those *gross tem-* "*ptations*, are fast enough *before*; and there- "fore such a *Covenant* were *needless*, and of no "*avail* to the *Tempters projects*.

This *Objection* I have answered already, in my

my Remarques upon the IX Prejudice; and mind you again here, that if the *designs* of those *evil Spirits* were onely in *general* to secure wicked men to the *dark Kingdom*, it might *better* be pretended that we cannot give a reason for their *temptations*, and *endeavours* in this kind; But it being likely, as I have conjectur'd, that each of those *infernal Tempters* hath a *particular property* in *those* he hath *seduced*, and *secured* by such *compacts*, their respective *pride* and *tyrannical* desire of *slaves*, may reasonably be thought to engage them in such *Attempts* in which their so peculiar interest is concerned.

But I add what is more *direct*, viz. That such *desperate* Sinners are made more safe to the *infernal* Kingdom at *large*, by such *Hellish Covenants* and *Combinations*; since thereby they *confirm*, and harden their *Hearts* against God, and put themselves at greater distance from his *Grace*, and his *Spirit*; give the *deepest wound* to Conscience, and resolve to *wink* against all its *light* and *convictions*; throw a *Bar* in the way of their own *Repentance*, and lay a *Train* for *despair* of *Mercy*. These certainly are *sure ways* of *being undone*, and the *Devil* we see, hath *great interest* in a *project*, the success of which is *so attended*. And we know he made the assault *de facto* upon our *Saviour*, when he tempted him to *fall down*, and *worship*. So that this learned Author hath but *little* reason to object

(3.) That to endeavour such an express *Covenant* is contrary to the *interests of Hell*; which indeed are *this* way so mightily promoted. And whereas he suggests, that a thing so *horrid* is like to *startle Conscience*, and *awaken* the Soul to *Consideration and Repentance*: I *Reply*, That indeed considering *man* in the *general*, as a *rational* Creature, acted by *hopes*, and *fears*, and *sensible* of the *joyes* and *miseries* of *another World*, one would expect *it should be so*: But then, if we cast our eyes upon *man* as *really he is*, *sunk into flesh* and *present sense*; *darkned* in his *mind*, and *governed* by his *imagination*; *blinded* by his *passions*, and *besotted* by *sin* and *folly*; *hardned* by *evil Customs*, and *hurried away* by the *torrent* of his *inclinations* and *desires*: I say, looking on man in this *miserable* state of *Evil*, 'tis not *incredible* that he should be prevailed upon by the *Tempter*, and his own *Lusts* to act at a *wonderful rate* of *madness*, and continue *unconcerned* and *stupid* in it; *intent* upon his *present satisfactions*, without *sense* or *consideration* of the *dreadfulness* and *danger* of his *condition*; and by *this* I am furnished also to meet a *fourth Objection* of our *Author*'s, viz.

(4) That 'tis not *probable* upon the *Witches* part, that *they* will be so *desperate* to renounce *God* and *eternal happiness*, and *so*, *everlastingly* undo their *Bodies* and *Souls*, for a *short* and *trivial interest*; which *way* of *arguing* will onely infer,

infer, that Mankind *acts* ſometimes to *prodigious degrees of brutiſhneſs*; and *actually* we *ſee it* in the *inſtances* of every day. There is not a *Luſt ſo baſe*, and ſo *contemptible*, but there are thoſe continually, in our eyes, that *feed it* with the *ſacrifice* of their *eternity*, and their *Souls*; and daring Sinners ruſh upon the *blackeſt* villanies with ſo *little remorſe*, or *ſenſe*, as if it were their *deſign* to prove, that they have nothing left them of *that whereby* they are *men*. So that nought can be inferred from this Argument, but *that humane* nature is *incredibly degenerate*; and the *vileneſs* and *ſtupidity* of men is *really ſo great*, that things are *cuſtomary*, and *common*, which one could not think *poſſible*, if he did not hourly ſee them. And if men of *liberal Education*, and *acute Reaſon*, that know their *duty*, and their *danger*, are driven by their *appetites*, with their *eyes* open, upon the moſt *fatal Rocks*, and make all the haſte they can *from* their *God*, and their *happineſs*; If *ſuch* can *barter* their *Souls* for *trifles*, and *ſell everlaſtingneſs* for a *moment*, *ſport* upon the *brink* of a *Precipice*, and *contemn* all the *terrours* of the future *dreadful* day; Why ſhould it then be *incredible* that a *brutiſh*, *vile* perſon, *ſotted* with *Ignorance*, and *drunk* with *Malice*, *mindleſs* of *God*, and *unconcerned* about a *future Being*, ſhould be perſwaded to accept of *preſent*, *delightful gratifications*, without duly weighing the *deſperate condition*?

Thus,

Thus, I ſuppoſe, I have *anſwered* alſo the *Arguments* of this *great man*, againſt the *Covenants* of Witches; and ſince a perſon of ſuch *ſagacity* and *learning*, hath *no more* to ſay againſt what I defend, and another of the *ſame* Character, the ingenious Mr. *S. Parker*, who directed me to *him*, reckons *theſe* the ſtrongeſt things that can be *objected* in the Caſe, I begin to arrive to an *higher degree of confidence* in the belief; and am almoſt inclined to *fancy*, that there is *little more* to be ſaid to purpoſe, which may not by the *improvement* of my *CONSIDERATIONS* be eaſily anſwered; and I am yet the more fortified in my conceit, becauſe I have ſince the former *Edition* of this Book, ſent to ſeveral *acute* and ingenious perſons of my acquaintance, to beg their *Objections*, or *thoſe* they have heard from others, againſt my *Diſcourſe* or *Relations*, that I might conſider them in *this*: But I can procure *none* ſave onely thoſe *few* I have now diſcuſs'd, moſt of my Friends telling me, that they have not met with *any* that *need*, or *deſerve* my notice.

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## SECT. XIX.

BY all this it is evident, that there were *WITCHES* in ancient times under the *Diſpenſation* of the *LAW*; and that there were

were such in the *times* of the *GOSPEL* also, will not be much more difficult to make good. I had a late occasion to say something about this, in a *Letter* to a person of the highest honour, from which I shall now borrow some things to my present purpose.

I SAY then (II) That there were *Compacts* with *evil Spirits* in *those times* also, is methinks intimated strongly in that saying of the *Jews* concerning our *Saviour, That he cast out Devils by* Beelzebub. In his return to which, he denies not the *supposition* or *possibility* of the *thing* in general; but clears himself by an appeal to the actions of their own Children, whom they would not tax so severely. And I cannot very well understand why those times should be priviledged from *WITCHCRAFT*, and *Diabolical Compacts*, more than they were from *Possessions*, which we know were then more *frequent* (for ought appears to the contrary) than ever they were before or since. But besides this, There are intimations plain enough in the *Apostles* Writings of the being of *Sorcery* and *WITCHCRAFT*. St. *Paul* reckons *Witchcraft* next *Idolatry*, in his *Catalogue* of the *works* of the *flesh*, Gal. V. 20. and the *Sorcerers* are again joyn'd with *Idolaters* in that sad *Denunciation*, Rev. XXI. 8. and a little after, *Rev.* XXII. 15. they are reckoned again among *Idolaters*, *Murderers*, and *those* others

that

that are *without*. And methinks the ſtory of *Simon Magus*, and his *diabolical Oppoſitions* of the *Goſpel* in its *beginnings*, ſhould afford clear conviction. To all which, I add this more general conſideration,

(3) That though the *New Teſtament* had mention'd nothing of this matter, yet its *ſilence* in ſuch caſes is not *argumentative*. Our Saviour *ſpake* as he had occaſion, and the thouſandth part of what he *did*, and *ſaid*, is not *recorded*, as one of his Hiſtorians intimates. He ſaid nothing of thoſe large unknown *Tracts* of *America*, nor gave he any intimations of as much as the *Exiſtence* of that *numerous* people; much leſs did he leave *inſtructions* about their *converſion*. He gives no account of the *affairs* and *ſtate* of the *other world*, but onely that *general one* of the *happineſs* of ſome, and the *miſery* of others. He made no diſcovery of the *Magnalia* of *Art* or *Nature*; no, not of thoſe, whereby the *propagation* of the *Goſpel* might have been much *advanced*, viz. the *Myſtery* of *Printing*, and the *Magnet*; and yet no one uſeth his *ſilence* in theſe inſtances as an argument againſt the being of things, which are *evident objects* of *ſenſe*. I confeſs, the omiſſion of ſome of theſe *particulars* is pretty ſtrange, and unaccountable, and concludes our *ignorance* of the *reaſons*, and *menages* of *Providence*; but I ſuppoſe, *nothing elſe*. I thought, I needed here to have ſaid no more,

but

but I conſider, in conſequence of this *Objection*, it is *pretended*; That as *CHRIST JESUS* drive the *Devil* from his *Temples*, and his *Altars*, (as is clear in the *Ceſſation* of *Oracles*, which *dwindled* away, and at laſt grew *ſilent* ſhortly upon his appearance) ſo in like manner, 'tis ſaid, that he *baniſht Him* from his *leſſer holds* in *Sorcerers*, and *Witches*; which *argument* is *peccant* both in what it *affirms*, and in what it would *infer*. For

(1) The coming of the *H. JESUS* did not expel the *Devil* from all the *greater* places of his *reſidence* and *worſhip*; for a conſiderable part of *barbarous* Mankind do him *publick*, *ſolemn homage*, to *this* day: So that the very *foundation* of the *pretence* fails, and the *Conſequence* without any more ado comes to nothing. And yet beſides,

(2) If there be any *credit* to be given to *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, there were perſons poſſeſſed with *Devils* ſome Ages after *Chriſt*, whom the *Diſciples* caſt out by *Prayer*, and the *invocation* of his *Name*: So that *Sathan* was not driven from his *leſſer* habitations, aſſoon as he was forced from his more *famous abodes*. And I ſee no reaſon

(3) *Why*, Though Divine Providence would not allow him *publiquely* to abuſe the *Nations*, whom he had deſigned in a ſhort time after, for Subjects of his *Son's Kingdom*, and to ſtand up in the *face* of *Religion* in an *open* affront to the

the *Divinity* that *planted it*, to the great *hindrance* of the *progreſs* of the *Goſpel*, and diſcouragement of *Chriſtian* hopes; I ſay, Though Providence would not allow this height of inſolent oppoſition; yet I ſee not why we may not grant, that God however permitted the Devil to *ſneak* into ſome *private skulking holes*, and to *trade* with the *particular* more *devoted vaſſals* of his *wicked* Empire: As we know that when our *Saviour* had chaſed him from the man that was *poſſeſſed*, he permitted his *retreat* into the *herd* of *Swine*. And I might add,

(4) That 'tis but a *bad* way of arguing, to ſet up *phancied congruities* againſt *plain experience*, as is evidently done by thoſe *arguers*, who, becauſe they think that *Chriſt* chaſed the *Devil* from all his *high places* of *worſhip* when he came; that 'tis therefore *fit* he ſhould have forced him from all his other leſs *notorious Haunts*: and upon the *imagination* of a *decency*, which they frame, *conclude a fact*, contrary to the greateſt evidence of which the thing is capable. And once more

(5) The conſequence of this *imagined Decorum*, if it be purſued, would be *this*, that *Sathan* ſhould now be deprived of all the *ways*, and *tricks* of *Cozenage*, whereby he abuſeth us; and *mankind* ſince the coming of *Chriſt*, ſhould have been ſecure from all his *Temptations*; for there is a greater *congruity* in believing,

ving, that, when he was forced from his *haunts* in *Temples* and *publick* places, he ſhould be put alſo from thoſe *nearer* ones, *about* us and *within* us in his daily *temptations* of *univerſal* Mankind; than, that upon relinquiſhing *thoſe*, he ſhould be made to leave all profeſt *communication* and *correſpondence* with thoſe *profligate* perſons, whoſe *vileneſs* had *fitted* them for ſuch *company*.

So that *theſe Reaſoners* are very Fair for the *denial* of all *internal Diabolical Temptations*. And becauſe I durſt not truſt them, I'le crave your leave here to add ſome things concerning *thoſe*.

In order to which, that I may obtain the favour of thoſe *wary* perſons, who are ſo *coy*, and *ſhy* of their *aſſent*, I grant; That men frequently out of a deſire to *excuſe themſelves*, lay their *own* guilt upon the *Devil*, and charge *him* with things of which in earneſt he is not *guilty*: For, I doubt not but every *wicked* man hath *Devil* enough in his *own nature* to prompt him to Evil, and needs not *another Tempter* to incite him. But yet, that *Sathan* endeavours to further our *wickedneſs*, and our *ruine* by his *inticements*, and *goes up and down ſeeking whom he may devour*, is too evident in the *holy Oracles*, to need my endeavours particularly to make it good; Only thoſe *diffident* men cannot perhaps apprehend the *manner* of the *operation*, and from thence are *tempted* to *believe*,

that

that there is really no ſuch thing. Therefore I judge it requiſite to explain *this*, and 'tis not unſutable to my *general* ſubject.

In order to it I conſider, That *ſenſe* is *primarily* cauſed by *motion* in the *Organs*, which by *continuity* is *conveyed* to the *brain*, where *ſenſation* is *immediately* performed; and it is *nothing elſe*, but a *notice excited* in the *Soul* by the *impulſe* of an *external object*. Thus it is in *ſimple outward ſenſe*. But *imagination*, though cauſed *immediately* by *material motion* alſo, yet it differs from the *external ſenſes* in *this*, That 'tis not from an *impreſs directly* from *without*, but the *prime*, and *original motion* is from *within* our *ſelves*: Thus the *Soul* it ſelf ſometimes ſtrikes upon thoſe *ſtrings*, whoſe motion begets ſuch, and ſuch *phantaſms*; otherwhile, the *looſe Spirits* wandring up and down in the *brain*, *caſually* hit upon ſuch *filments* and *ſtrings* whoſe *motion* excites a *conception*, which we call a *Fancy*, or *Imagination*; and if the *evidence* of the *outward ſenſes* be ſhut out by *ſleep* or *melancholy*, in *either* caſe, we *believe* thoſe *repreſentations* to be *real* and *external tranſactions*, when they are onely *within* our *heads*; Thus it is in *Enthuſiaſms*, and *Dreams*. And beſides *theſe cauſes* of the *motions* which ſtir *imagination*, there is little doubt, but that *Spirits good*, or *bad* can ſo move the *inſtruments* of *ſenſe* in the *brain*, as to *awake* ſuch *imaginations*, as they have a mind to *excite*; and the imagina-

imagination having a mighty *influence* upon the *affections*, and *they* upon the *will* and *external actions*, 'tis very easie to conceive how *good Angels* may stir us up to *Religion* and *Vertue*, and the *Evil ones tempt* us to *Lewdness* and *vice*, viz. by *representments* that they make upon the *stage* of *imagination*, which *invite* our *affections*, and *allure*, though they cannot *compel*, our *wills*.

This I take to be an *intelligible account* of *temptations*, and also of *Angelical encouragements*; and perhaps *this* is the onely way of *immediate influence* that the *Spirits* of the other world have upon us. And by it, 'tis easie to give an account of *Dreams* both *Monitory*, and *Temperamental*, *Enthusiasms*, *Fanatick Ecstasies*, and the like, as I suggested.

Thus Sir, to the FIRST. But the other pretence also must be examined.

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## SECT. XX.

(2) [*MIRACLES are ceast, therefore the presumed actions of Witchcraft are tales, and illusions.*]

To make a due return to *this*, we must consider a great and difficult *Problem*, which is, *What is a real Miracle?* And for answer to this weighty Question, I think,

(1) THAT it is not the *ſtrangeneſs*, or *unaccountableneſs* of the *thing done* ſimply, from whence we are to conclude a *Miracle*. For then, we are *ſo* to account of all the *Magnalia* of *Nature*, and all the *Myſteries* of thoſe *honeſt* Arts, which we do not underſtand.

Nor, (2) is this the *Criterion* of a *Miracle*, That it is an action or event beyond all *natural powers*; for we are ignorant of the *extent* and *bounds* of *Natures ſphere*, and *poſſibilities*: And if this were the *character*, and *eſſential mark* of a *Miracle*, we could not know what was *ſo*; except we could determine the *extent* of *natural cauſalities*, and fix their *bounds*, and be able to ſay to *Nature*, *Hitherto canſt thou go, and no further.* And he that makes this his meaſure whereby to judge a *Miracle*, is himſelf the *greateſt Miracle* of *knowledge*, or *immodeſty*. Beſides, though an effect may tranſcend *really* all the *powers* of *meer nature*; yet there is a *world* of *ſpirits* that muſt be taken into our account. And as to them alſo I ſay,

(3) Every thing is not a *Miracle* that is done by *Agents ſupernatural.* There is no doubt but that *evil Spirits* can make *wonderful combinations* of *natural cauſes*, and perhaps perform many things *immediately* which are *prodigious*, and beyond the *longeſt line* of *Nature*: but yet *Theſe* are not therefore to be called *Miracles*; for, *THEY are SACRED WON-*

*WONDERS, and ſuppoſe the POWER to be DIVINE.* But how ſhall the *power* be *known* to be *ſo,* when we ſo little underſtand the *capacities,* and *extent* of the abilities of *lower Agents?* The Anſwer to this *Queſtion* will diſcover the *Criterion* of *Miracles,* which muſt be ſuppoſed to have all the former particulars; (They are *unaccountable, beyond the powers of meer nature,* and *done by Agents ſupernatural*) and to theſe muſt be ſuperadded,

(4) That they have *peculiar circumſtances* that ſpeak them of a *divine Original.* Their *mediate Authors* declare them to *be ſo,* and *they* are always perſons of *Simplicity, Truth,* and *Holineſs, void* of *Ambition,* and all *ſecular Deſigns.* They ſeldom uſe *Ceremonies,* or *natural Applications,* and yet ſurmount all the *activities* of *known Nature.* They work thoſe wonders, not to raiſe *admiration,* or out of the *vanity* to be *talkt* of; but to *ſeal* and *confirm* ſome *divine Doctrine,* or *Commiſſion,* in which the *good* and *happineſs* of the world is concern'd. I ſay, by ſuch *circumſtances* as *theſe, wonderful* actions are *known* to be from a *Divine* cauſe; and *that makes,* and *diſtinguiſheth* a *Miracle.*

And thus I am prepared for an *Anſwer* to the *Objection,* to which I make this brief return, That though WITCHES by their *Confederate Spirit* do thoſe *odd,* and *aſtoniſhing* things we believe of them; yet are they no *Miracles,*

there being evidence enough from the *badneſs* of their *Lives*, and the *ridiculous Ceremonies* of their *performances*, from their *malice* and *miſchievous deſigns*, that the *POWER* that works, and the end for which thoſe things are done, is not *Divine*, but *Diabolical*. And by *ſingular providence* they are not ordinarily permitted, as much as to *pretend* to any *new ſacred Diſcoveries* in matters of *Religion*, or to act any thing for *confirmation* of *doctrinal Impoſtures*. So that whether *Miracles* are *ceaſed*, or not, *theſe* are *none*. And that ſuch *Miracles* as are onely *ſtrange*, and *unaccountable* performances, above the common *methods* of *Art* or *Nature*, are not *ceas'd*, we have a late great Evidence in the famous *GREATRAK*; concerning whom it will not be impertinent to add the following *Account* which I had in a *Letter* from the Reverend Dr. *R.* Dean of *C.* a perſon of great *veracity*, and a *Philoſopher*. This learned Gentleman then is pleaſed thus to write.

" THE great diſcourſe now at the *Coffee-*
" *houſes*, and every where, is about
" Mr. G. the famous *Iriſh Stroker*, concerning
" whom it is like you expect an account from
" me. He undergoes various cenſures here,
" ſome take him to be a *Conjurer*, and ſome, an
" *Impoſtor*, but others again *adore* him as an
" *Apoſtle*. I confeſs I think the man is free

" from

"from all *deſign*, of a very *agreeable* Conver-
"ſation, not addicted to any *Vice*, nor to any
"*Sect* or *Party*; but is, I believe, a *ſincere Pro-*
"*teſtant*. I was three weeks together with
"him at my Lord *Conwayes*, and ſaw him, I
"think, lay his hands upon a thouſand perſons;
"and *really* there is ſomething in it more than
"*ordinary*; but I am convinc'd it is not *mira-*
"*culous*. I have ſeen *pains* ſtrangely fly before
"his hand till he hath chaſed them out of the
"Body, *Dimneſs cleared*, and *Deafneſs* cured by
"his *touch*; Twenty perſons at ſeveral times
"in *fits* of the *Falling Sickneſs*, were in two or
"three minutes brought to themſelves, ſo as
"to tell where their pain was, and then he hath
"purſued it till he hath driven it out at ſome
"extream part; *Running Sores* of the *Kings*
"*Evil* dried up, and *Kernels* brought to a *Sup-*
"*puration* by his hand; *grievous Sores* of ma-
"ny moneths date, in few days *healed*; *Ob-*
"*ſtructions* and *Stoppings removed*, *Cancerous*
"*Knots* in the Breaſt *diſſolved*, &c.

"But yet I have many reaſons to perſwade
"me, that nothing of all this is *miraculous*:
"He pretends not to give *Teſtimony* to any
"*Doctrine*, the manner of his *Operation* ſpeaks
"it to be *natural*, the *Cure* ſeldom ſucceeds
"without *reiterated touches*, his *Patients* often
"*relapſe*, he *fails frequently*, he can do nothing
"where there is any *decay* in *Nature*, and *many*
"*Diſtempers* are not at all obedient to his *touch*.

"So that, I confeſs, I refer all his vertue to his "*particular Temper* and *Complexion*, and I take "his *Spirits* to be a kind of *Elixir*, and *uni-* "*verſal Ferment*; and that he cures (as Dr. *M.* "expreſſeth it) by a *ſanative Contagion*. *En-* "*thuſiaſm. Triumphat.* Sect. 58.

This, Sir, was the *Firſt Account* of the *Healer*, I had from that Reverend Perſon, which with me ſignifies more, than the *atteſtations* of multitudes of *ordinary Reporters*; and no doubt but it will do ſo likewiſe, with all that know that excellent man's ſingular *Integrity* and *Judgment*. But beſides this, upon my enquiry into ſome other particulars about this matter, I received theſe further Informations.

"As for Mr. G. what opinion he hath of his "*own Gift*, and how he came to know it? I "anſwer, He hath a different apprehenſion of "it from *yours*, and *mine*, and certainly belie- "veth it to be an *immediate Gift* from Heaven; "and 'tis no wonder, for he is *no Philoſopher*. "And you will wonder leſs, when you hear "*how* he came to *know* it, as I have often recei- "ved it from his own mouth. About three "or four years ago he had a ſtrong *impulſe* up- "on his *ſpirit*, that continually purſued him "whatever he was about, at his *Buſineß*, or "*Devotion*, *alone*, or in *company*, that ſpake to

"him

"him by this *inward ſuggeſtion* [*I have given*
"*thee the gift of curing the Evil.*] This *ſug-*
"*geſtion* was ſo *importunate*, that he complai-
"ned to his Wife, That he thought he was
"haunted: She apprehended it as an *extra-*
"*vagancy* of *Fancy*, but he told her he belie-
"ved there was more in it, and was reſolved
"to try. He did not long want opportunity.
"There was a Neighbour of his grievouſly af-
"flicted with the *Kings-Evil*, He ſtroked her,
"and the effect ſucceeded. And for about a
"Twelve-moneth together he pretended to
"cure no other Diſtemper. But then the
"*Ague* being very rife in the Neighbourhood,
"the ſame *Impulſe* after the ſame manner ſpoke
"within him, [*I have given thee the gift of*
"*curing the Ague*;] and meeting with perſons
"in their *Fits*, and taking them by the hand,
"or laying his hand upon their Breaſts, the
"*Ague* left them. About half a year after
"the accuſtomed *Impulſe* became more *general*,
"and ſuggeſted to him [*I have given thee the*
"*gift of Healing*:] and then he attempted all
"Diſeaſes *indifferently*. And though he ſaw
"ſtrange effects, yet he doubted whether
"the cauſe were any vertue that came from
"him, or the peoples fancy: To convince him
"of his *incredulity*, as he lay one night in bed,
"one of his Hands was ſtruck *dead*, and the
"uſual *Impulſe* ſuggeſted to him to make trial
"of his vertue upon himſelf, which he did,

" ſtroking it with his other hand, and then it " immediately returned to its former *livelineſs*. " This was repeated two or three nights (or " mornings) together.

" This is his *Relation*, and I believe there is " ſo much ſincerity in the perſon, that he tells " no more than what he believes to be *true*. " To ſay that this Impulſe too was but a *reſult* " of his *Temper*, and that it is but like *Dreams* " that are uſually according to mens *conſtitu-* " *tions*, doth not ſeem a *probable account* of the " *Phænomenon*. Perhaps ſome may think it " more likely, that ſome *Genius* who under- " ſtood the *ſanative vertue* of his *Complexion*, " and the *readineſs* of his *Mind*, and *ability* of " his *Body*, to put it in execution, might give " him notice of *that* which otherwiſe might " have been for ever *unknown* to him, and ſo " the *Gift* of *God* had been to no purpoſe.

This, Sir, is my Learned and Reverend Friend's *Relation*, and I judge his *Reflections* as *ingenious* as his *Report* is *ſincere*. I ſhall ſay no more about it but *this*, that many of thoſe *matters* of *Fact*, have been ſince *critically inſpected* and *examined* by ſeveral *ſagacious* and *deep* ſearches of the ROYAL SOCIETY, whom we may ſuppoſe as unlikely to be deceived by a *contrived Impoſture*, as any perſons extant.

And

And now, Sir, 'tis fit that I relieve your patience; and I ſhall do ſo, when I have ſaid, that *You* can abundantly *prove*, what I have thus attempted to *defend*: And that among the many Obligations your *Country* hath to you, for the *Wiſdom* and *Diligence* of your Endeavours in its ſervice; your *Ingenious Induſtry* for the *Detecting* of thoſe *vile Practiſers*, is not the leaſt *conſiderable*. To which I will add no more, but the *Confeſſion* who it is that hath given you all this trouble; which I know you are ready to *pardon*, to the reſpect and good *Intentions* of

SIR,

*Your Affectionate and Obliged*

*Honourer and Servant,*

J. G.

ADVER-

# ADVERTISEMENT.

HItherto reacheth the Author's ingenious *Conſiderations about Witchcraft*. But underſtanding by his Letters and Papers, that he intended ſomething further to enlarge this Firſt Part of his *Saduciſmus Triumphatus*, which concerns the *Poſſibility* of the Exiſtence of *Spirits*, *Apparitions*, and *Witches*, but that he has done nothing therein, being prevented by Death, I thought it might prove not an unuſeful Supplement, to tranſlate moſt of the two laſt Chapters of Dr. *H. M.* his *Enchiridion Metaphyſicum* into Engliſh, and add it to this Firſt Part, as a ſuitable Appendage thereto. Which is as follows.

---

AN

# AN
# APPENDAGE
## To this First PART,
## Concerning the
# POSSIBILITY
## OF
# APPARITIONS
## AND
# Witchcraft.

Containing

## The easie, true, and genuine NOTION, and consistent Explication of the Nature OF A
# SPIRIT;

Whereby

The POSSIBILITY of the EXISTENCE of SPIRITS, APPARITIONS, and WITCHCRAFT is further confirmed.

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*LONDON*: Printed, 1681.

# ebiLLe

DE

Explication d'une Figure

du SOLEIL qui paroît

Le Cercle tout entier

CHEZ

# MICHEL

M D

# REFLEXIONS

SUR

# LA POESIE

EN GENERAL,

ET

SUR L'ODYSSE

M.

The
Eaſie, True, and Genuine
# NOTION
And Conſiſtent
# EXPLICATION
Of the NATURE of a
# SPIRIT.

## SECT. I.

### *The Opinions of the NULLIBISTS and HOLENMERIANS propoſed.*

THat we may explicate the *Eſſence* or *Notion* of *Incorporeal Beings* or *Spirits*, with the greater ſatisfaction and ſucceſs, we are firſt to remove two vaſt Mounds of Darkneſs, wherewith the ignorance of ſome hath encumbred and obſcured their nature.

And the firſt is of thoſe who though they readily acknowledge there are ſuch things as

*Incor-*

*Incorporeal Beings* or *Spirits*, yet do very peremptorily contend that they are *no where* in the whole World. Which opinion, though at the very first ſight it appears ridiculous, yet it is ſtiffly held by the maintainers of it, and that not without ſome Faſtuoſity and Superciliouſneſs, or at leaſt ſome more ſly and tacite contempt of ſuch Philoſophers as hold the contrary, as of men leſs intellectual and too too much indulging to their *Imagination*. Thoſe other therefore becauſe they ſo boldly affirm that a *Spirit* is *Nullibi*, that is to ſay, *Nowhere*, have deſervedly purchaſed to themſelves the Name or Title of *Nullibiſts*.

The other Mound of Darkneſs laid upon the nature of a *Spirit*, is by thoſe who willingly indeed acknowledge that *Spirits* are *ſomewhere*; but add further, That they are not onely entirely or totally in their whole *Ubi* or place, (in the moſt general ſence of the word) but are totally in every part or point thereof, and deſcribe the peculiar nature of a *Spirit* to be ſuch, that it muſt be *Totus in toto & totus in qualibet ſui parte*. Which therefore the *Greeks* would fitly and briefly call οὐσίαν ὁλεμερῆ, [*an Eſſence that is all of it in each part*] and this propriety thereof (τῶν ἀσωμάτων οὐσιῶν τὴν ὁλεμέρειαν) the *Holenmeriſm* of *Incorporeal Beings*. Whence alſo theſe other Philoſophers diametrically oppoſite to the former, may moſt ſignificantly and compendiouſly be called *Holenmerians*.

Sect.

## SECT. II.

### *That* Carteſius *is the Prince of the* Nullibiſts, *and wherein chiefly conſiſts the force of their Opinion.*

THe Opinions of both which kind of Philoſophers having ſufficiently explained, we will now propoſe and confute the Reaſons of each of them; and firſt of the *Nullibiſts*. Of whom the chief Author and Leader ſeems to have been that pleaſant Wit *Renatus Des Cartes*, who by his jocular *Metaphyſical Meditations*, has ſo luxated and diſtorted the rational Faculties of ſome otherwiſe ſober and quick-witted perſons, but in this point by reaſon of their over-great admiration of *Des Cartes* not ſufficiently cautious, that deceived, partly by his counterfeit and preſtigious ſubtilty, and partly by his Authority, have perſwaded themſelves that ſuch things were moſt *true* and *clear* to them; which had they not been blinded with theſe prejudices, they could never have thought to have been ſo much as poſſible. And ſo they having been ſo induſtriouſly taught, and diligently inſtructed by him, how they might not be impoſed upon, no not by the moſt powerful and moſt ill-minded fallacious Deity, have heedleſly

leſly, by not ſufficiently ſtanding upon their guard, been deceived and illuded by a mere man, but of a pleaſant and abundantly-cunning and abſtruſe Genius; as ſhall clearly appear after we have ſearched and examined the reaſons of this Opinion of the *Nullibiſts* to the very bottom.

The whole force whereof is compriſed in theſe three Axioms. The firſt, *That whatſoever thinks is Immaterial*, and ſo on the contrary. The ſecond, *That whatever is extended is Material.* The third, *That whatever is unextended is Nowhere.* To which third I ſhall add this fourth, as a neceſſary and manifeſt Conſectary thereof, *viz. That whatſoever is ſomewhere is extended.* Which the *Nullibiſts* of themſelves will eaſily grant me to be moſt true. Otherwiſe they could not ſeriouſly contend for their Opinion, whereby they affirm Spirits to be *nowhere*; but would be found to do it only by way of an oblique and cloſe deriſion of their Exiſtence, ſaying indeed they *exiſt*, but then again hiddenly and cuninglly denying it, by affirming they are *nowhere.* Wherefore doubtleſly they affirm them to be *nowhere*, if they are in good earneſt, for this reaſon onely; for fear they granting them to be ſomewhere, it would be preſently extorted from them, even according to their own Principles, that they are *extended*, as whatever is Extended, is Material, according to their ſecond Axiome. It

is

is therefore manifeſt that we both agree in this, that whatever real Being there is that is *ſomewhere*, is alſo *Extended*.

## SECT. III.

*The Sophiſtical weakneſs of that reaſoning of the* Nullibiſts, *who, becauſe we can conceive Cogitation without conceiving in the mean while Matter, conclude, That whatſoever thinks is Immaterial.*

WIth which truth notwithſtanding we being furniſhed and ſupported, I doubt not but we ſhall with eaſe quite overthrow and utterly root out this Opinion of the *Nullibiſts*. But that their levity and credulity may more manifeſtly appear, let us examine the Principles of this Opinion by parts, and conſider how well they make good each member.

The firſt is, *Whatever thinks is Immaterial*, and on the contrary. The converſion of this Axiome I will not examine, becauſe it makes little to the preſent purpoſe. I will onely note by the by, that I doubt not but it may be falſe, although I eaſily grant the Axiome itſelf to be true. But it is this new Method of demonſtrating it I call into queſtion, which from hence, that we can conceive *Cogitation*, in the

mean time not conceiving *Matter*, concludes that *Whatever thinks is Immaterial.* Now that we can conceive *Cogitation* without conceiving *Matter*, they ſay is manifeſt from hence, That although one ſhould ſuppoſe there were no Body in the Univerſe, and ſhould not flinch from that poſition, yet notwithſtanding he would not ceaſe to be certain, that there was *Res cogitans*, a *thinking Being*, in the World, he finding himſelf to be ſuch. But I further add, though he ſhould ſuppoſe there was no *Immaterial* Being in nature, (nor indeed *Material*) and ſhould not flinch from that poſition, yet he would not ceaſe to be certain that there was a *thinking Being*, (no not if he ſhould ſuppoſe himſelf not to be a thinking Being) becauſe he can *ſuppoſe* nothing without *Cogitation.* Which I thought worth the while to note by the by, that the great levity of the *Nullibiſts* might hence more clearly appear.

But yet I add further, that ſuch is the nature of the Mind of man, that it is like the Eye, better fitted to contemplate other things than itſelf; and that therefore it is no wonder that thinking nothing of its own Eſſence, it does fixedly enough and intently conſider in the mean time and contemplate all other things, yea, thoſe very things with which ſhe has the neareſt affinity, and yet without any reflection that herſelf is of the like nature.

Whence

Whence it may eaſily come to paſs, when ſhe is ſo wholly taken up in contemplating other things without any reflection upon herſelf, that either careleſly ſhe may conſider herſelf in general as a *mere thinking Being*, without any other Attribute, or elſe by reſolvedneſs afterwards, and by a force on purpoſe offered to her own faculties. But that this reaſoning is wonderfully weak and trifling as to the proving of the Mind of man to be nothing elſe; that is to ſay, to have no other *Attributes* but mere *Cogitation*, there is none that does not diſcern.

## SECT. IV.

### *The true Method that ought to be taken for the proving that MATTER cannot think.*

LAſtly, if *Carteſius* with his *Nullibiſts* would have dealt *bona fide*, they ought to have omitted all thoſe ambagious windings and Meanders of feigned *Abſtraction*, and with a direct ſtroke to have faln upon the thing itſelf, and ſo to have ſifted *Matter*, and ſearched the nature of *Cogitation*, that they might thence have evidently demonſtrated that there was ſome inſeparable Attribute in *Matter* that is repugnant to the *Cogitative* faculty, or in *Cogitation* that is repugnant to *Matter*. But out

of the mere diverſity of Idea's or Notions of any Attributes, to collect their ſeparability or *real* diſtinction, yea their contrariety and repugnancy, is moſt foully to violate the indiſpenſable Laws of *Logick*, and to confound *Diverſa* with *Oppoſita*, and make them all one. Which miſtake to them that underſtand *Logick* muſt needs appear very coarſe and abſurd.

But that the weakneſs and vacillancy of this Method may yet more clearly appear, let us ſuppoſe that which yet Philoſophers of no mean name ſeriouſly ſtand for and aſſert, *viz.* That *Cogitative* ſubſtance is either *Material* or *Immaterial*; does it not apparently follow thence, that a *thinking* ſubſtance may be preciſely conceived without the conception of *Matter*, as *Matter* without the conception of *Cogitation*, when notwithſtanding in one of the members of this diſtribution they are joyned ſufficiently cloſe together?

How can therefore this newfangled Method of *Carteſius* convince us that this Suppoſition is falſe, and that the diſtribution is illegitimate? Can it from thence, that *Matter* may be conceived without *Cogitation*, and *Cogitation* without *Matter*? The firſt all grant, and the other the diſtribution itſelf ſuppoſes; and yet continues ſufficiently firm and ſure. Therefore it is very evident, that there is a neceſſity of our having recourſe to the known and ratified

tified Laws of *Logick*, which many Ages before this new upſtart Method of *Des Cartes* appeared, were eſtabliſhed and approved by the common ſuffrage of Mankind; Which teach us that in every legitimate diſtribution the parts ought *conſentire cum toto, & diſſentire inter ſe*, to agree with the Whole, but diſagree one with another. Now in this Diſtribution that they do ſufficiently diſagree, it is very manifeſt. It remains onely to be proved, that one of the parts, namely that which ſuppoſes that a *Cogitative* ſubſtance may be *Material*, is repugnant to the nature of the Whole. This is that clear, ſolid and manifeſt way or method according to the known Laws of *Logick*; but that new way, a kind of Sophiſtry and pleaſant mode of triſling and prevaricating.

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## SECT. V.

*That all things are in ſome ſort extended, demonſtrated out of the Corollary of the third Principle of the* Nullibiſts,

AS for the ſecond Axiome or Principle, *viz.* *That whatſoever is extended is Material*; for the evincing the falſity thereof, there want no new Arguments, if one have but recourſe to the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Chapters of *Enchiridium Metaphyſicum*, where by unanſwerable

ſwerable reaſonings it is demonſtrated, That there is a certain Immaterial and Immovable *Extenſum* diſtinct from the movable Matter. But however, out of the Conſectary of their third Principle, we ſhall prove at once, that all Spirits are Extended as being ſomewhere, againſt the wild and ridiculous Opinion of the *Nullibiſts*.

Whoſe third Principle, and out of which immediately and preciſely they conclude Spirits to be nowhere, is, *Whatſoever is unextended is nowhere.* Which I very willingly grant; but on this condition, that they on the other ſide concede (and I doubt not but they will) That *whatſoever is ſomewhere is alſo extended*; from which Conſectary I will evince with Mathematical certainty, That God and our Soul, and all other Immaterial Beings, are in ſome ſort extended: For the *Nullibiſts* themſelves acknowledge and aſſert, that the Operations wherewith the Soul acts on the Body, are in the Body; and that Power or Divine Vertue wherewith God acts on the Matter and moves it, is preſent in every part of the Matter. Whence it is eaſily gathered, That the Operation of the Soul and the moving Power of God is ſomewhere, *viz.* in the *Body*, and in the *Matter*. But the Operation of the *Soul* wherewith it acts on the *Body* and the *Soul itſelf*, and the Divine Power wherewith *God* moves the *Matter* and *God himſelf*, are together, nor can

ſo

ſo much as be imagined ſeparate one from the other; namely, the *Operation* from the *Soul*, and the *Power* from *God*. Wherefore if the Operation of the Soul is ſomewhere, the Soul is ſomewhere, *viz.* there where the Operation. And if the Power of God be ſomewhere, God is ſomewhere, namely, there where the Divine Power is; *He* in every part of the *Matter*, the *Soul* in the humane *Body*. Whoſoever can deny this, by the ſame reaſon he may deny that common Notion in Mathematicks, Quantities that are ſingly equal to one third, are equal to one another.

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## SECT. VI.

*The apert confeſſion of the* Nullibiſts *that the ESSENCE of a Spirit is where its OPERATION is; and how they contradict themſelves, and are forced to acknowledge a Spirit extended.*

AND verily that which we contend for, the *Nullibiſts* ſeem apertly to aſſert, even in their own expreſs words, as it is evident in *Lambertus Velthuſius* in his *De Initiis Primæ Philoſophiæ*, in the Chapter *De Ubi*. Who though he does manifeſtly affirm that God and the Mind of man by their Operations are in every part or ſome one part of the Matter;

and that in that ſence, namely, in reſpect of their *Operations*, the *Soul* may be truly ſaid to be *ſomewhere*, *God everywhere*; as if that were the onely mode of their preſence: yet he does expreſly grant that the *Eſſence* is nowhere ſeparate from *that* whereby God or a created Spirit is ſaid to be, the one *everywhere*, the other *ſomewhere*; that no man may conceit the *Eſſence* of God to be where the reſt of his *Attributes* are not. That the *Eſſence* of God is in Heaven, but that his *Vertue* diffuſes itſelf beyond Heaven. No by no means, ſaith he, Whereſoever *God*'s Power or *Operation* is, there is the *Nature* of *God*; foraſmuch as God is a Subſtance devoid of all compoſition. Thus far *Velthuſius*. Whence I aſſume, But the Power or *Operation* of *God* is in or preſent to the *Matter*, Therefore the *Eſſence* of *God* is in or preſent to the *Matter*, and is there where the Matter is, and therefore *ſomewhere*. Can there be any deduction or illation more cloſe and coherent with the Premiſes?

And yet that other moſt devoted follower of the *Carteſian* Philoſophy, *Ludovicus De-la-Forge*, cannot abſtain from the offering us the ſame advantage of arguing, or rather from the inferring the ſame concluſion with us, in his Treatiſe *De Mente Humana*, Chap. 12, where occur theſe words: Laſtly, when I ſay that *God* is preſent to all things by his *Omnipotency*, (and conſequently to all the parts of

the

the Matter) I do not deny but that alſo by his *Eſſence* or *Subſtance* he is preſent to them: For all thoſe things in God are one and the ſame.

Doſt thou hear, my *Nullibiſt*, what one of the chiefeſt of thy Condiſciples and moſt religious Symmiſts of that ſtupendious ſecret of *Nullibiſm* plainly profeſſes, namely, that *God* is preſent to all the parts of *Matter* by his *Eſſence* alſo, or *Subſtance*? And yet you in the mean while bluſh not to aſſert, that neither God nor any created ſpirit is any where; than which nothing more contradictious can be ſpoke or thought, or more abhorring from all reaſon. Wherefore whenas the *Nullibiſts* come ſo near to the truth, it ſeems impoſſible they ſhould, ſo all of a ſuddain, ſtart from it, unleſs they were blinded with a ſuperſtitious admiration of *Des Cartes* his Metaphyſicks, and were deluded, effaſcinated and befooled with his jocular Subtilty and preſtigious Abſtractions there: For who in his right wits can acknowledge that a *Spirit* by its *Eſſence* may be preſent to Matter and yet be *nowhere*, unleſs the Matter were nowhere alſo? And that a Spirit may penetrate, poſſeſs, and actuate ſome determinate Body, and yet not be in that Body? In which if it be, it is plainly neceſſary it be ſomewhere.

And yet the ſame *Ludovicus De-la-Forge* does manifeſtly aſſert, that the Body is thus poſſeſt

poſſeſt and actuated by the Soul, in his Preface to his Treatiſe *De Mente Humana*, while he declares the Opinion of *Marcilius Ficinus* concerning the manner how the Soul actuates the Body in *Marſilius* his own words, and does of his own accord aſſent to his Opinion. What therefore do theſe *Forms* to the Body when they communicate to it their *Eſſe*? They throughly penetrate it with their *Eſſence*, they bequeath the *Vertue* of their *Eſſence* to it. But now whereas the *Eſſe* is deduced from the *Eſſence*, and the *Operation* flows from the *Vertue*, by conjoyning the *Eſſence* they impart the *Eſſe*, by bequeathing the *Vertue* they communicate the *Operations*; ſo that out of the congreſs of Soul and Body, there is made one *Animal Eſſe*, one *Operation*. Thus he. The Soul with her Eſſence penetrates and pervades the whole Body, and yet is not where the Body is, but nowhere in the Univerſe!

With what manifeſt repugnancy therefore to their other *Aſſertions* the *Nullibiſts* hold this ridiculous Concluſion, we have ſufficiently ſeen, and how weak their chiefeſt prop is, That *whatever is Extended is Material*; which is not onely confuted by irrefragable Arguments, *Chap.* 6, 7, and 8. *Enchirid. Metaphyſ.* but we have here alſo, by ſo clearly proving that all *Spirits* are *ſomewhere*, utterly ſubverted it, even from that very Conceſſion or Opinion of the *Nullibiſts* themſelves, who concede or aver

that

that *whatsoever is somewhere is extended.* Which *Spirits* are and yet are not *Material.*

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## SECT. VII.

*The more light reasonings of the* Nullibists *whereby they would confirm their Opinion. The first of which is, That the Soul thinks of those things which are nowhere.*

BUt we will not pass by their more slight reasonings in so great a matter, or rather so monstrous. Of which the first is, That the Mind of man thinks of such things as are *nowhere*, nor have any relation to place, no not so much as to *Logical* place or *Ubi*. Of which sort are many truths as well *Moral* as *Theological* and *Logical*, which being of such a nature that they are *nowhere*, the *Mind* of man which conceives them is necessarily *nowhere* also. But how crazily and inconsequently they collect that the humane Soul is *nowhere*, for that it thinks of those things that are *nowhere*, may be apparent to any one from hence, and especially to the *Nullibists* themselves; because from the same reason it would follow that the *Mind* of man is *somewhere*, because sometimes, if not always in a manner, it thinks of those things which are *somewhere*, as all *Material* things are. Which yet they dare

dare not grant, becauſe it would plainly follow from thence, according to their Doctrine, that the Mind or Soul of man were *extended*, and ſo would become *corporeal* and devoid of all *Cogitation*. But beſides, Theſe things which they ſay are *nowhere*, namely, certain *Moral*, *Logical*, and *Theological* Truths, are really *ſomewhere*, viz. in the *Soul* itſelf which conceives them; but the Soul is in the Body, as we proved above. Whence it is manifeſt that the Soul and thoſe Truths which ſhe conceives are as well *ſomewhere* as the Body itſelf. I grant that ſome Truths as they are *Repreſentations*, neither reſpect *Time* nor *Place* in whatever ſence. But as they are *Operations*, and therefore *Modes* of ſome *Subject* or *Subſtance*, they cannot be otherwiſe conceived than in ſome ſubſtance. And foraſmuch as there is no ſubſtance which has not ſome amplitude, they are in a ſubſtance which is in ſome ſort extended; and ſo by reaſon of their *Subject* they are neceſſarily conceived to be ſomewhere, becauſe a *Mode* is inſeparable from a *Subject*.

Nor am I at all moved with that giddy and raſh tergiverſation which ſome betake themſelves to here, who ſay we do not well in diſtinguiſhing betwixt *Cogitation* (ſuch as are all conceived verities) and the *Subſtance* of the *Soul cogitating*: For *Cogitation* itſelf is the very *Subſtance* of the *Soul*, as *Extenſion* is of *Matter*,

*Matter*; and that therefore the *Soul* is as well *nowhere* as any *Cogitation*, which reſpects neither time nor place, would be, if it were found in no *Subject*. But here the *Nullibiſts*, who would thus eſcape, do not obſerve that while they acknowledge the *Subſtance* of the Soul to be *Cogitation*, they therewithal acknowledge the Soul to have a Subſtance, whence it is neceſſary it have ſome amplitude. And beſides, This Aſſertion whereby they aſſert Cogitation to be the very ſubſtance of the Soul, is manifeſtly falſe. For many Operations of the Soul, are, as they ſpeak, *ſpecifically* different; Which therefore ſucceeding one after another, will be ſo many Subſtances *ſpecifically* different. And ſo the Soul of *Socrates* will not always be the ſame *ſpecifical* Soul, and much leſs the ſame *numerical*; Than which what can be imagined more delirant, and more remote from common ſenſe?

To which you may adde, That the *Soul* of man is a *permanent* Being, but her *Cogitations* in a *flux* or *ſucceſſion*; How then can the very ſubſtance of the Soul be its ſucceſſive Operations? And when the ſubſtance of the Soul does ſo perpetually ceaſe or periſh, what I beſeech you will become of Memory? From whence it is manifeſtly evident, that there is a certain *permanent* Subſtance of the Soul, as much diſtinct or different from her ſucceeding *Cogitations*, as the *Matter* itſelf is from its ſucceſſive *figures* and *motions*.

Sect.

## SECT. VIII.

### *The ſecond reaſon of the* Nullibiſts, *viz. That* COGITATION *is eaſily conceived without* EXTENSION.

THe ſecond Reaſon is ſomewhat coincident with ſome of thoſe we have already examined; but it is briefly propoſed by them thus: There can be no conception, no not of a *Logical Place*, or *Ubi*, without *Extenſion*. But *Cogitation* is eaſily conceived without conceiving any *Extenſion*: Wherefore the Mind cogitating, exempt from all *Extenſion*, is exempt alſo from all *Locality* whether *Phyſical* or *Logical*; and is ſo looſened from it, that it has no *relation* nor *applicability* thereto; as if thoſe things had no relation nor applicability to other certain things without which they might be conceived.

The weakneſs of this argumentation is eaſily deprehended from hence, That the *Intenſneſs* of heat or motion is conſidered without any reſpect to its *extenſion*, and yet it is referred to an extended Subject, *viz.* To a Bullet ſhot, or red hot Iron. And though in intent and defixed thoughts upon ſome either difficult or pleaſing Object, we do not at all obſerve how the time paſſeth, nor take the

ſlighteſt

ſlighteſt notice of it, nothing hinders notwithſtanding but thoſe Cogitations may be applied to time, and it be rightly ſaid, that about ſix a clock, ſuppoſe, in the Morning they began, and continued till eleven; and in like manner the place may be defined where they were conceived, *viz.* within the Walls of ſuch an ones Study, although perhaps all that time this ſo fixt Contemplator did not take notice whether he was in his *Study* or in the *Fields*.

And to ſpeak out the matter at once, From the *preciſion* of our thoughts to infer the *real* preciſion or *ſeparation* of the things themſelves, is a very putid and puerile Sophiſm; and ſtill the more enormous and wilde, to collect alſo thence, that they have no relation nor applicability one to another. For we may have a clear and diſtinct *apprehenſion* of a thing which may be connected with another by an *eſſential* Tye, that Tye being not taken notice of, (and much more when they are connected onely with a *circumſtantial* one) but not a full and adequate *apprehenſion*, and ſuch as ſees through and penetrates all the degrees of its Eſſence with their properties; Which unleſs a man reach to, he cannot rightly judge of the real ſeparability of any nature from other natures.

From whence it appears how foully *Carteſius* has impoſed, if not upon himſelf, at leaſt upon others, when from this mental preciſion

of

of *Cogitation* from *Extenſion*, he defined a Spirit (ſuch as the humane Soul) by *Cogitation* onely, *Matter* by *Extenſion*, and divided all *Subſtance* into *Cogitant* and *Extended*, as into their firſt ſpecies or kinds. Which diſtribution notwithſtanding is as abſonous and abſurd, as if he had diſtributed *Animal* into *Senſitive* and *Rational*. Whenas all *Subſtance* is *extended* as well as all *Animals ſenſitive*. But he fixed his Animadverſion upon the *ſpecifick* nature of the humane Soul; the *Generical* nature thereof, either on purpoſe or by inadvertency, being not conſidered nor taken notice of by him, as hath been noted in *Enchiridion Ethicum*, lib. 3. cap. 4. ſect. 3.

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## SECT. IX.

*The third and laſt Reaſon of the* Nullibiſts, *viz. That the Mind is conſcious to herſelf, that ſhe is nowhere, unleſs ſhe be diſturbed or jogged by the Body.*

THe third and laſt Reaſon, which is the moſt ingenious of them all, occurs in *Lambertus Velthuſius*, viz. That it is a truth which God has infuſed into the Mind itſelf, That ſhe is nowhere, becauſe we know by experience that we cannot tell from our ſpiritual Operations where the Mind is. And for that

we

we know her to be in our Body, that we onely perceive from the Operations of *Senſe* and *Imagination*, which without the Body or the motion of the Body the Mind cannot perform. The ſence whereof, if I gueſs right, is this; That the Mind by a certain internal ſenſe is conſcious to herſelf that ſhe is *nowhere*, unleſs ſhe be now and then diſturbed by the motions or joggings of the Body; which is, as I ſaid, an ingenious preſage, but not true: For it is one thing to perceive herſelf to be nowhere, another not to perceive herſelf to be ſomewhere. For ſhe may not perceive herſelf to be ſomewhere, though ſhe be ſomewhere, as ſhe may not take notice of her own *Individuality*, or *numerical Diſtinction*, from all other minds, although ſhe be one *Numerical* or *Individual* mind diſtinct from the reſt: For, as I intimated above, ſuch is the nature of the mind of man, that like the eye, it is better fitted for the contemplating all other things, than for contemplating itſelf. And that indeed which is made for the clearly and ſincerely ſeeing other things, ought to have nothing of itſelf actually perceptible in it, which it might mingle with the perception of thoſe other things. From whence the Mind of man is not to have any ſtable and fixt ſenſe of its own Eſſence; and ſuch as it cannot eaſily lay aſide upon occaſion: And therefore it is no wonder, whenas the Mind of man can put off the ſenſe and

conſciouſneſs to itſelf of its own *Eſſence* and *Individuality*, that it can put off alſo therewith the ſenſe of its being *ſomewhere*, or not perceive it; whenas it does not perceive its own *Eſſence* and *Individuality*, (of which *Hic* & *Nunc* are the known Characters:) And the chief Objects of the Mind are Univerſals.

But as the Mind, although it perceives not its *Individuality*, yet can by reaſon prove to herſelf that ſhe is ſome one *Numerical* or *Individual* Mind; ſo ſhe can by the ſame means, although ſhe by inward ſenſe perceives not where ſhe is, evince notwithſtanding that ſhe is ſomewhere; from the general account of things, which have that of their own nature, that they are *extended*, *ſingular*, and *ſomewhere*. And beſides; *Veltbuſius* himſelf does plainly grant, that from the Operations of Senſe and Imagination, we know our Mind to be in our Body. How then can we be ignorant that ſhe is *ſomewhere*, unleſs the Body itſelf be *nowhere*?

SECT.

## SECT. X.

*An Appeal to the internal ſenſe of the Mind, if ſhe be not environed with a certain infinite Extenſion; together with an excitation of the* Nullibiſt *out of his Dream, by the ſound of Trumpeters ſurrounding him.*

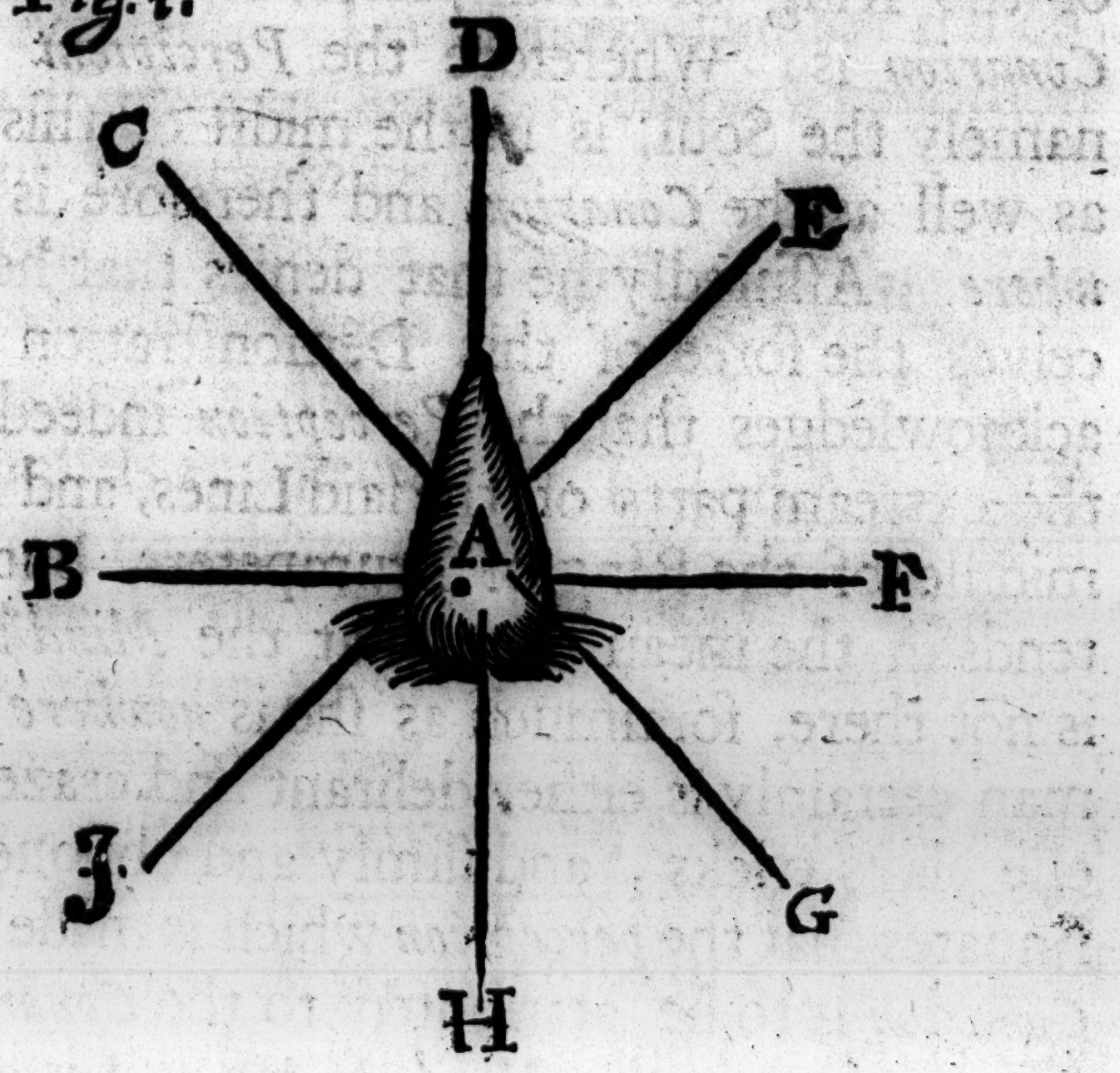
THe Reaſons of the *Nullibiſts* whereby they endeavour to maintain their Opinion, are ſufficiently enervated and ſubverted. Nor have we need of any Arguments to eſtabliſh the contrary Doctine. I will onely deſire by the by, that he that thinks his *Mind* is *nowhere*, would make trial of his faculty of Thinking; and when he has abſtracted himſelf from all thought or ſenſe of his *Body*, and fixed his *Mind* onely on an Idea of an indefinite or *infinite Extenſion*, and alſo perceives himſelf to be ſome *particular cogitant Being*, let him make trial, I ſay, whether he can any way avoid it, but he muſt at the ſame time perceive that he is *ſomewhere*, namely, within this *immenſe Extenſion*, and that he is environ'd round about with it. Verily, I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that I cannot conceive otherwiſe, and that I cannot but conceive an Idea of a certain *Extenſion infinite and immovable*, and of *neceſſary* and *actual Exiſtence*: Which I

moſt clearly deprehend, not to have been drawn in by the outward ſenſe, but to be innate and eſſentially inherent in the Mind itſelf; and ſo to be the genuine *object* not of *Imagination*, but of *Intellect*; and that it is but perverſly and without all judgment determined by the *Nullibiſts*, or *Carteſians*, that whatever is extended, is alſo φανλαςόν τι or the *Object of Imagination*; When notwithſtanding there is nothing *imaginable*, or the Object of Imagination, which is not *ſenſible*: For all Phantaſms are drawn from the ſenſes. But this *infinite Extenſion* has no more to do with things that are *ſenſible* and fall under *Imagination*, than that which is moſt *Incorporeal*. But of this haply it will be more opportune to ſpeak elſewhere.

In the mean time I will ſubjoyn onely one Argument, whereby I may manifeſtly evince that the Mind of man is ſomewhere, and then I will betake my ſelf to the diſcuſſing of the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*. Briefly therefore let us ſuppoſe ſome one environed with a Ring of Trumpeters, and that they all at the ſame time ſound their Trumpets. Let us now ſee if the circumſonant clangor of thoſe ſurrounding Trumpets ſounding from all ſides will awake theſe *Nullibiſts* out of their Lethargick Dream. And let us ſuppoſe, which they will willingly concede, that the *Conarion* or *Glandula Pinealis*, A, is the ſeat of the common

mon ſenſe, to which at length all the motions from external Objects arrive. Nor is it any matter whether it be this *Conarion*, or ſome other part of the Brain, or of what is contained in the Brain: But let the *Conarion*, at leaſt for this bout, ſupply the place of that matter which is the common *Senſorium* of the Soul.

*Fig. 1.*




And whenas it is ſuppoſed to be ſurrounded with Eight Trumpeters, let there be Eight Lines drawn from them, namely, from B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I; I ſay that the clangour or ſound of every Trumpet is carried from the Ring of the Trumpeters to the extream part

of every one of thoſe Lines, and all thoſe ſounds are heard as coming from the Ring B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and perceived in the *Conarion* A; and that the perception is in that part to which all the Lines of motion, as to a common Centre, do concur; and therefore the extream parts of them, and the *perceptions* of the Clangours or Sounds, are in the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, *viz.* where the *Conarion* is: Wherefore the *Percipient* itſelf, namely the Soul, is in the midſt of this Ring as well as the *Conarion*, and therefore is *ſomewhere*. Aſſuredly he that denies that he conceives the force of this Demonſtration, and acknowledges that the *Perception* indeed is at the extream parts of the ſaid Lines, and in the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, but contends in the mean time that the *Mind* herſelf is not there, foraſmuch as ſhe is *nowhere*; this man certainly is either delirant and crazed, or elſe plays tricks, and ſlimly and obliquely inſinuates that the *perception* which is made in the *Conarion* is to be attributed to the *Conarion* itſelf; and that the *Mind*, ſo far as it is conceived to be an *Incorporeal Subſtance*, is to be exterminated out of the Univerſe, as an uſeleſs Figment and Chimæra.

SECT.

## SECT. XI.

### *The Explication of the Opinion of the* Holenmerians, *together with their Two Reaſons thereof propoſed.*

AND thus much of the Opinion of the *Nullibiſts*. Let us now examine the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, whoſe Explication is thus: Let there be what Body you pleaſe, ſuppoſe C, D, E, which the Soul or a Spirit may poſſeſs and penetrate. The *Holenmerians* affirm, that the whole Soul or Spirit does occupy and poſſeſs the whole Body C, D, E, by its Eſſence; and that it is alſo wholly or all of it in every part or point of the ſaid Body C, D, E, as in A, for example, and in B, and the reſt of the leaſt parts or points of it. This is a brief and clear Explication of their Opinion.

Fig. 2.

But the Reaſons that induce them to embrace it, and ſo ſtiffly to maintain it, are theſe two onely, or at leaſt chiefly, as much as reſpects the *Holenmeriſm* of *Spirits*. The firſt is, That whereas they grant that the whole

Soul does pervade and poſſeſs the whole Body, they thought it would thence follow that the Soul would be *diviſible*, unleſs they ſhould correct again this Aſſertion of theirs, by ſaying, that it was yet ſo in the *whole* Body, that it was *totally* in the mean time in *every part* thereof: For thus they thought themſelves ſure, that the *Soul* could not thence be argued in any ſort *diviſible*, or *corporeal*, but ſtill remain purely *ſpiritual*.

Their other Reaſon is, That from hence it might be eaſily underſtood, how the Soul being in the whole Body C, D, E, whatever happens to it in C, or B, it preſently perceives it in A; Becauſe the whole Soul being perfectly and entirely as well in C, or B, as in A, it is neceſſary that after what faſhion ſoever C or B is affected, A ſhould be affected after the ſame manner; foraſmuch as it is entirely and perfectly one and the ſame thing, *viz.* the whole Soul, as well in C or B, as in A. And from hence is that vulgar ſaying in the Schools, *That if the Eye were in the Foot, the Soul would ſee in the Foot.*

SECT.

## SECT. XII.

### *The Examination of the Opinion of the* Holenmerians.

BUt now, according to our cuſtome, let us weigh and examine all theſe things in a free and juſt Balance. In this therefore that they aſſert, that the whole Soul is in the whole Body, and is all of it penetrated of the Soul by her *Eſſence*, and therefore ſeem willingly to acknowledge a certain *eſſential amplitude* of the *Soul*; in this, I ſay, they come near to us, who contend there is a certain *Metaphyſical* and *Eſſential Extenſion* in all *Spirits*, but ſuch as is ἀμεγέθης καὶ ἀμερὴς, *devoid of bulk or parts*, as *Ariſtotle* defines of his *ſeparate ſubſtances*: For there is no magnitude or bulk which may not be *phyſically* divided, nor any *parts* properly where there is no ſuch diviſion. Whence the *Metaphyſical Extenſion* of *Spirits*, is rightly underſtood not to be capable of either *bulk* or *parts*. And in that ſence it has *no parts*, it cannot juſtly be ſaid to be a *Whole*. In that therefore we plainly agree with the *Holenmerians*, that a Soul or Spirit may be ſaid by its Eſſence to penetrate and poſſeſs the *whole Body* C, D, E; but in this again we differ from them, that we dare not affirm that the *whole Spirit*

or

or *whole Soul* does penetrate and poſſeſs the ſaid Body, becauſe that which has not *parts* cannot properly be called a *Whole*; though I will not over-ſtiffly contend, but that we may uſe that word for a more eaſie explication of our mind, according to that old trite Proverb, Αμαθέςερόν πως εἰπὲ ϗ σαφέςερον λέγε, *Speak a little more unlearnedly that thou mayeſt ſpeak more intelligibly or plainly.* But then we are to remember that we do not ſpeak *properly*, though more *accommodately* to the vulgar apprehenſion, but *improperly*.

But now when the *Holenmerians* add further, That the whole Soul is in every part or Phyſical point of the Body D, C, E, in the point A and B, and all the reſt of the points of which the Body D, C, E, does conſiſt, that ſeems an harſh expreſſion to me, and ſuch as may juſtly be deemed next door to an open Repugnancy and Contradiction: For when they ſay the whole Soul is in the whole Body D, C, E, if they underſtand the Eſſence of the Soul to be commenſurate, and as it were equal to the Body D, C, E, and yet at the ſame time, the whole Soul to be contained within the point A or B, it is manifeſt that they make one and the ſame thing many thouſand times greater or leſs than itſelf at the ſame time; which is impoſſible. But if they will affirm, that the *eſſential Amplitude* of the Soul is no bigger than what is con-

*See* Figure 2. *Sect.* 11.

contained within the Phyſical point A, or B; but that the *Eſſential Preſence* of the Soul is diffuſed through the whole Body D, C, E, the thing will ſucceed not a jot the better. For while they plainly profeſs that the whole Soul is in the point A, it is manifeſt that there remains nothing of the Soul which may be in the point B, which is diſtant from A: For it is as if one ſhould ſay, that there is nothing of the Soul which is not included within A; and yet in the ſame moment of time, that not onely ſomething of the Soul, (which perhaps might be a more gentle Repugnancy) but that the whole Soul is in B, as if the *whole* Soul were *totally* and *entirely* out of itſelf; which ſurely is impoſſible in any *ſingular* or *individual* thing. And as for *Univerſals*, they are not *Things*, but *Notions* we uſe in contemplating them.

Again, if the *Eſſential Amplitude* of the Soul is no greater than what may be contained within the limits of a Phyſical point, it cannot extend or exhibit its *Eſſential Preſence* through the whole Body, unleſs we imagine in it a ſtupendious velocity, ſuch as it may be carried with in one moment into all the parts of the Body, and ſo be preſent to them: Which when it is ſo hard to conceive in this ſcant *compages* of an humane Body, and in the Soul occupying in one moment every part thereof, What an outragious thing is it,

and

and utterly impoſſible to apprehend touching that Spirit which perpetually exhibits his *Eſſential Preſence* to the whole world, and whatever is beyond the world?

To which laſtly, you may add that this Hypotheſis of the *Holenmerians*, does neceſſarily make all *Spirits* the moſt *minute* things that can be conceived: For if the whole Spirit be in every Phyſical point, it is plain that the *Eſſential Amplitude* itſelf of the Spirit (which the two former Objections ſuppoſed) is not bigger than that Phyſical point in which it is, (which you may call, if you will, a *Phyſical Monad*) than which nothing is or can be ſmaller in univerſal Nature: Which if you refer to any *created Spirit*, it cannot but ſeem very ridiculous; but if to the *Majeſty* and *Amplitude* of the *divine Numen*, intolerable, that I may not ſay plainly reproachful and blaſphemous.

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## SECT. XIII.

### *A Confutation of the firſt Reaſon of the* Holenmerians.

BUt now for the Reaſons for which the *Holenmerians* adhere to ſo abſurd an Opinion; verily they are ſuch as can no ways compenſate thoſe huge difficulties and repugnancies the Opinion itſelf labours under. For, for the firſt,

firſt, which ſo ſolicitouſly provides for the *Indiviſibility* of *Spirits*, it ſeems to me to undertake a charge either *Superfluous* or *Ineffectual*. *Superfluous*, if *Extenſion* can be without *Diviſibility*, as it is clearly demonſtrated it can, in that infinite immovable Extenſion diſtinct from the movable Matter, *Enchirid. Metaphyſ.* cap. 6, 7, 8. But *Ineffectual*, if all *Extenſion* be *diviſible*, and the *Eſſential Preſence* of a *Spirit* which pervades and is extended through the whole Body C, D, E, may for that very reaſon be *divided*; for ſo the *whole Eſſence* which occupies the whole Body C,D,E, will be divided into *parts*. No by no means, will you ſay, foraſmuch as it is wholly in every part of the Body.

Therefore it will be divided, if I may ſo ſpeak, into ſo many Totalities. But what Logical ear can bear a ſaying ſo abſurd and abhorrent from all reaſon, that a *Whole* ſhould not be divided into *parts* but into *Wholes*? But you will ſay at leaſt we ſhall have this granted us, that an *Eſſential Preſence* may be diſtributed or divided according to ſo many diſtinctly cited *Totalities* which occupy at once the whole Body C, D, E, Yes verily, this ſhall be granted you, after you have demonſtrated that a *Spirit* not bigger than a *Phyſical Monad* can occupy in the ſame inſtant all the parts of the Body C, D, E; but upon this condition, that you acknowledge not ſundry *Totalities*, but one onely *total Eſſence*; though the leaſt that can

be

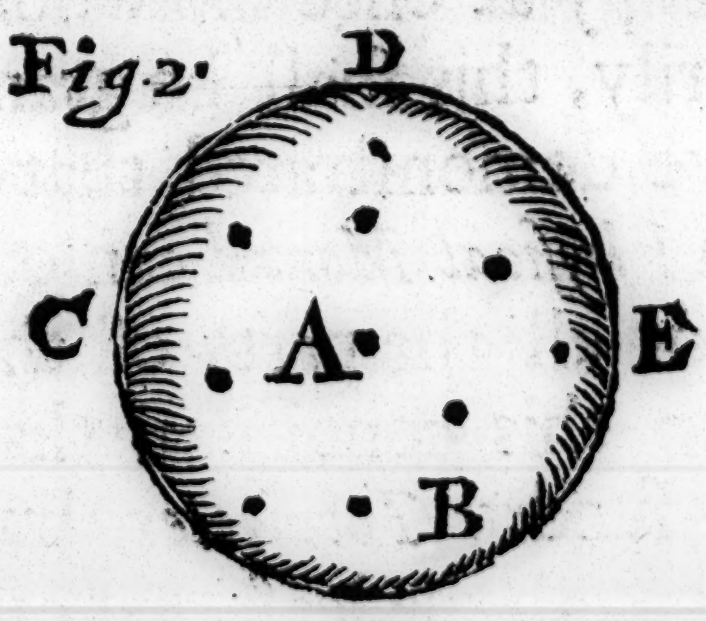
be imagined, can occupy that whole ſpace, and when there is need, occupy, in an inſtant, an infinite one: Which the *Holenmerians* muſt of neceſſity hold touching the Divine Eſſence, becauſe according to their Opinion taken in the ſecond ſence, (which pinches the whole Eſſence of a Spirit into the ſmalleſt point) the Divine Eſſence itſelf is not bigger than any *Phyſical Monad.* From whence it is apparent the three Objections which we brought in the beginning do again recur here, and utterly overwhelm the firſt reaſon of the *Holenmerians*: So that the remedy is far more intolerable than the diſeaſe.

## SECT. XIV.

### *A Confutation of the ſecond Reaſon of the* Holenmerians.

AND truly the other reaſon which from this *Holenmeriſm* of Spirits pretends a more eaſie way of conceiving how it comes to paſs that the Soul, ſuppoſe in A, can perceive what happens to it in C, or B, and altogether in the ſame circumſtances as if itſelf

Fig. 2.



ſelf were perfectly and entirely in C, or B, when yet it is in A; although at firſt ſhew this ſeems very plauſible, yet if we look throughly into it, we ſhall find it far enough from performing what it ſo fairly promiſes. For beſides that nothing is more difficult or rather impoſſible to conceive, than that an Eſſence not bigger than a Phyſical point ſhould occupy and poſſeſs the whole Body of a man at the ſame inſtant, this Hypotheſis is moreover plainly contrary and repugnant to the very Laws of the Souls Perceptions: For Phyſicians and Anatomiſts with one conſent profeſs, that they have found by very ſolid experiments, that the Soul perceives onely within the Head, and that without the Head there is no perception: Which could by no means be, if the Soul herſelf were wholly in the point A, and the very ſelf-ſame Soul again wholly in the point B, and C, nor any where as to *Eſſential Amplitude* bigger than a *Phyſical Monad*: For hence it would follow, that one and the ſame thing would both perceive and not perceive at once; That it would perceive this or that Object, and yet perceive nothing at all; which is a perfect contradiction.

And from hence the falſity of that common ſaying is detected, That *if the Eye was in the Foot, the Soul would ſee in the Foot*; whenas it does not ſo much as ſee in thoſe Eyes which it

it already hath, but ſomewhere within the Brain. Nor would the Soul by an Eye in the Foot ſee, unleſs by fitting Nerves, not unlike the Optick ones, continued from the Foot to the Head and Brain, where the Soul ſo far as *perceptive*, inhabiteth. In the other parts of the Body the Functions thereof are onely *vital.*

Again, ſuch is the nature of ſome perceptions of the Soul, that they are fitted for the moving of the Body; ſo that it is manifeſt that the very ſelf-ſame thing which perceives, has the power of moving and guiding of it; Which ſeems impoſſible to be done by this Soul, which, according to the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, exceeds not the amplitude of a ſmall Phyſical point, as it may appear at firſt ſight to any one whoſe reaſon is not blinded with prejudice.

And laſtly, If it be lawful for the Mind of man to give her conjectures touching the Immortal *Genii*, (whether they be in Vehicles, or deſtitute of Vehicles) and touching their *Perceptions* and *Eſſential Preſences* whether inviſible or thoſe in which they are ſaid ſometimes to appear to mortal men, there is none ſurely that can admit that any of theſe things are competible to ſuch a Spirit as the *Holenmerians* deſcribe. For how can a *Metaphyſical Monad*, that is to ſay, a Spiritual ſubſtance not exceeding a Phyſical Monad in Amplitude,

tude, fill out an *Essential Presence* bigger than a Physical Monad, unless it be by a very swift vibration of itself towards all parts; as Boys by a very swift moving of a Fire-stick, make a fiery Circle in the air by that quick motion. But that Spirits, destitute of Vehicles, should have no greater *Essential Presence* than what is occupied of a naked and unmoved *Metaphysical Monad*, or exhibited thereby, seems so absonous and ridiculous a spectacle to the Mind of man, that unless he be deprived of all sagacity and sensibility of spirit, he cannot but abhor so idle an Opinion.

And as for those *Essential Presences*, according to which they sometimes appear to men, at least equalizing humane stature, how can a solitary *Metaphysical Monad* form so great a part of Air or Æther into humane shape, or govern it being so formed? Or how can it perceive any external Object in this swift motion of itself, and quick vibration, whereby this *Metaphysical Monad* is understood of the *Holenmerians*, to be present in all the parts of its Vehicle at once? For there can be no perception of the external Object, unless the Object that is to be perceived act with some stay upon that which perceiveth. Nor if it could be perceived by this *Metaphysical Monad* thus swiftly moved and vibrated towards all parts at once, would it be seen in one place, but in many places at once, and those, as it may happen, very distant.

## SECT. XV.

### *The egregious falsity of the Opinions of the* Holenmerians *and* Nullibists, *as also their uselesness for any Philosophical ends.*

BUt verily, I am ashamed to waste so much time in refuting such mere trifles and dotages which indeed are such, (that I mean of the *Nullibists*, as well as this other of the *Holenmerians*) that we may very well wonder how such distorted and strained conceits could ever enter into the minds of men, or by what artifice they have so spread themselves in the World; but that the prejudices and enchantments of Superstition and stupid admiration of mens Persons are so strong, that they may utterly blind the minds of men, and charm them into dotage. But if any one, all prejudice and parts-taking being laid aside, will attentively consider the thing as it is, he shall clearly perceive and acknowledge, unless all belief is to be denied to the humane faculties, that the Opinions of the *Nullibists* and *Holenmerians*, touching *Incorporeal Beings*, are miserably *false*; and not that onely, but as to any Philosophical purpose altogether *useless*. Forasmuch as out of neither Hypothesis there does appear any greater facility of con-

conceiving how the *Mind* of man, or any other *Spirit*, performs thoſe Functions of *Perception* and of *Moving* of *Bodies*, from their being ſuppoſed *nowhere*, than from their being ſuppoſed *ſomewhere*; or from ſuppoſing them *wholly in every part* of a Body, than from ſuppoſing them onely, to occupie the whole Body by an *Eſſential* or *Metaphyſical Extenſion*; but on the contrary, that both the Hypotheſes do entangle and involve the Doctrine of *Incorporeal Beings* with greater Difficulties and Repugnancies.

Wherefore, there being neither *Truth* nor *Uſefulneſs* in the Opinions of the *Holenmerians* and *Nullibiſts*, I hope it will offend no man if we ſend them quite packing from our Philoſophations touching an *Incorporeal Being* or *Spirit*, in our delivering the true Idea or Notion thereof.

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## SECT. XVI.

*That thoſe that contend that the Notion of a* Spirit *is ſo difficult and imperſcrutable, do not this becauſe they are of a more ſharp and piercing Judgement than others, but of a Genius more rude and plebeian.*

NOw I have ſo ſucceſsfully removed and diſſipated thoſe two vaſt Mounds of

Night and Miſtineſs, that lay upon the nature of *Incorporeal Beings*, and obſcured it with ſuch groſs darkneſs; it remains that we open and illuſtrate the true and genuine nature of them in general, and propoſe ſuch a definition of a *Spirit*, as will exhibit no difficulty to a mind rightly prepared and freed from prejudice: For the *nature* of a *Spirit* is very eaſily underſtood, provided one rightly and skilfully ſhew the way to the Learner, and form to him true Notions of the thing. Inſomuch that I have often wondred at the ſuperſtitious conſternation of mind in thoſe men, (or the profaneneſs of their tempers and innate averſation from the contemplation of Divine things) who if by chance they hear any one profeſſing that he can with ſufficient clearneſs and diſtinctneſs conceive the nature of a *Spirit*, and communicate the Notion to others, they are preſently aſtartled and amazed at the ſaying, and ſtraightway accuſe the man of intolerable levity or arrogancy, as thinking him to aſſume ſo much to himſelf, and to promiſe to others, as no humane Wit, furniſhed with never ſo much knowledge, can ever perform. And this I underſtand even of ſuch men who yet readily acknowledge the *Exiſtence* of *Spirits*.

But as for thoſe that deny their *Exiſtence*, whoever profeſſes this skill to them, verily he cannot but appear a man above all meaſure

vain

vain and doting. But I hope that I ſhall ſo bring it about, that no man ſhall appear more ſtupid and doting, no man more unskilful and ignorant, than he that eſteems the clear Notion of a Spirit ſo hopeleſs and deſperate an attempt; and that I ſhall plainly detect, that this big and boaſtful profeſſion of their ignorance in theſe things does not proceed from hence, that they have any thing more a ſharp or diſcerning Judgment than other mortals, but that they have more groſs and weak parts, and a ſhallower Wit, and ſuch as comes neareſt to the ſuperſtition and ſtupidity of the rude vulgar, who eaſilier fall into admiration and aſtoniſhment, than pierce into the reaſons and notices of any difficult matter.

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## SECT. XVII.

*The Definition of* Body *in general, with ſo clear an Explication thereof, that even they that complain of the obſcurity of a* Spirit, *cannot but confeſs they perfectly underſtand the nature of* Body.

BUt now for thoſe that do thus deſpair of any true knowledge of the nature of a *Spirit*, I would entreat them to try the abilities of their wit in recognizing and throughly conſidering the nature of *Body* in general. And

let them ingenuouſly tell me whether they cannot but acknowledge this to be a clear and perſpicuous definition thereof, *viz.* That *Body is Subſtance Material, of itſelf altogether deſtitute of all Perception, Life, and Motion.* Or thus: *Body is a Subſtance Material coaleſcent or accruing together into one, by vertue of ſome other thing, from whence that one by coalition, has or may have Life alſo, Perception and Motion.*

I doubt not but they will readily anſwer, that they underſtand all this (as to the terms) clearly and perfectly; nor would they doubt of the truth thereof, but that we deprive *Body* of all *Motion from itſelf*, as alſo of *Union*, *Life*, and *Perception.* But that it is *Subſtance*, that is, a Being ſubſiſtent by itſelf, not a *mode* of ſome Being, they cannot but very willingly admit, and that alſo it is a *material* Subſtance compounded of *phyſical Monads*, or at leaſt of moſt *minute particles* of Matter, into which it is diviſible; and becauſe of their *Impenetrability*, impenetrable by any other Body. So that the Eſſential and Poſitive difference of a *Body* is, that it be *impenetrable*, and *Phyſically diviſible* into parts: But that it is *extended*, that immediately belongs to it as it is a *Being*. Nor is there any reaſon why they ſhould doubt of the other part of the *Differentia*, whenas it is ſolidly and fully proved in Philoſophie, That *Matter* of its own nature, or in itſelf, is

endued

endued with no *Perception*, *Life*, nor *Motion*. And beſides, we are to remember that we here do not treat of the *Exiſtence* of things, but of their intelligible *Notion* and *Eſſence*.

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## SECT. XVIII.

*The perfect Definition of a* Spirit, *with a full Explication of its Nature through all Degrees.*

AND if the *Notion* or Eſſence is ſo eaſily underſtood in nature *Corporeal* or *Body*, I do not ſee but in the *Species* immediately oppoſite to *Body*, viz. *Spirit*, there may be found the ſame facility of being underſtood. Let us try therefore, and from the Law of *Oppoſites* let us define a *Spirit*, an *Immaterial Subſtance intrinſecally endued with Life and the faculty of Motion.* This ſlender and brief Definition that thus eaſily flows without any noiſe, does comprehend in general the whole nature of a *Spirit*; Which leſt by reaſon of its exility and brevity it may prove leſs perceptible to the Underſtanding, as a Spirit is to the ſight, I will ſubjoyn a more full Explication, that it may appear to all, that this Definition of a *Spirit* is nothing inferiour to the Definition of a *Body* as to clearneſs and perſpicuity. And that by this method which we

now fall upon, a full and perfect knowledge and understanding of the nature of a *Spirit* may be attained to.

Go to therefore, let us take notice through all the degrees of the *Definitum*, or *Thing defined*, what precise and immediate properties each of them contain, from whence at length a most distinct and perfect knowledge of the whole *Definitum* will discover itself. Let us begin then from the top of all, and first let us take notice that a Spirit is *Ens*, or a *Being*, and from this very same that it is a *Being*; that it is also *One*, that it is *True*, and that it is *Good*; which are the three acknowledged Properties of *Ens* in Metaphysicks, that it exists *sometime*, and *somewhere*, and is in some sort *extended*, as is shewn *Enchirid. Metaphys.* cap. 2. sect. 10. which three latter terms are plain of themselves. And as for the three former, that *One* signifies undistinguished or undivided in and from itself, but divided or distinguished from all other, and that *True* denotes the answerableness of the *thing* to its own proper *Idea*, and implies right *Matter* and *Form* duely conjoyned, and that lastly *Good* respects the fitness for the end in a large sence, so that it will take in that saying of Theologers, That God is his own End, are things vulgarly known to *Logicians* and *Metaphysicians*. That these Six are the immediate affections of Being, as Being is made apparent in the above-cited *Enchiridion*

*chiridion Metaphyſicum*; nor is it requiſite to repeat the ſame things here. Now every *Being* is either *Subſtance*, or the *Mode* of *Subſtance*, which ſome call *Accident*: But that a *Spirit* is not an *Accident* or *Mode* of Subſtance, all in a manner profeſs; and it is demonſtrable from manifold Arguments, that there are *Spirits* which are no ſuch *Accidents* or *Modes*; Which is made good in the ſaid *Enchiridion* and other Treatiſes of Dr. *H. M.*

Wherefore the ſecond Eſſential degree of a Spirit is, that it is *Subſtance*. From whence it is underſtood to ſubſiſt by itſelf, nor to want any other thing as a *Subject* (in which it may inhere, or of which it may be the *Mode* or *Accident*) for its ſubſiſting or exiſting.

The third and laſt Eſſential degree is, that it is *Immaterial*, according to which it immediately belongs to it, that it be a *Being* not onely *One*, but *one by itſelf*, or of its own intimate nature, and not by another; that is, That, though as it is a *Being* it is in ſome ſort *extended*, yet it is utterly *Indiviſible* and *Indiſcerpible* into real Phyſical parts. And moreover, That it can *penetrate* the *Matter*, and (which the *Matter* cannot do) penetrate things of its own kind; that is, paſs through Spiritual Subſtances. In which two Eſſential Attributes (as it ought to be in every perfect and legitimate Diſtribution of any Genius) it is fully and accurately contrary to its oppoſite *Species*, namely,

namely, to *Body*. As alſo in thoſe immediate Properties whereby it is underſtood to have *Life* intrinſecally in *itſelf*, and the faculty of *moving*; which in ſome ſence is true in all Spirits whatſoever, foraſmuch as *Life* is either *Vegetative*, *Senſitive*, or *Intellectual*. One whereof at leaſt every Spiritual Subſtance hath: as alſo the *faculty* of *moving*; inſomuch that every Spirit either moves itſelf by itſelf, or the Matter, or both, or at leaſt the Matter either mediately or immediately; or laſty, both ways. For ſo all things moved are moved by God, he being the Fountain of all Life and Motion.

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## SECT. XIX.

*That from hence that the Definition of a* Body *is perſpicuous, the Definition of a* Spirit *is alſo neceſſarily perſpicuous.*

WHerefore I dare here appeal to the Judgment and Conſcience of any one that is not altogether illiterate and of a dull and obtuſe Wit, whether this *Notion* or Definition of a *Spirit* in general, is not as intelligible and perſpicuous, is not as clear and every way diſtinct as the Idea or *Notion* of a *Body*, or of any thing elſe whatſoever which the mind of man can contemplate in the whole compaſs of

of Nature. And whether he cannot as eaſily or rather with the ſame pains apprehend the nature of a *Spirit* as of *Body*, foraſmuch as they both agree in the immediate Genus to them, to wit *Subſtance*. And the *Differentiæ* do illuſtrate one another by their mutual oppoſition; inſomuch that it is impoſſible that one ſhould underſtand what is *Material* Subſtance, but he muſt therewith preſently underſtand what *Immaterial* Subſtance is, or what it is *not* to have *Life* and *Motion* of itſelf, but he muſt ſtraitway perceive what it is *to have both in itſelf*, or to be able to communicate them to others.

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## SECT. XX.

*Four Objections which from the perſpicuity of the terms of the Definition of a SPIRIT infer the Repugnancy of them one to another.*

NOr can I divine what may be here oppoſed, unleſs haply they may alledge ſuch things as theſe, That although they cannot deny but that all the *terms* of the *Definition* and *Explication* of them, are ſufficiently intelligible, if they be conſidered ſingle, yet if they be compared one with another they will mutually deſtroy one another. For this *Extenſion* which is mingled with, or inſerted into the

the nature of a *Spirit*, ſeems to take away the *Penetrability* and *Indiviſibility* thereof, as alſo its *faculty* of *thinking*, as its *Penetrability* likewiſe takes away its *power of moving any Bodies.*

I. Firſt, *Extenſion* takes away *Penetrability*; becauſe if one Extenſion penetrate another, of neceſſity either one of them is deſtroyed, or two equal Amplitudes entirely penetrating one another, are no bigger than either one of them taken ſingle, becauſe they are cloſed within the ſame limits.

II. Secondly, It takes away *Indiviſibility*; becauſe whatſoever is *extended* has *partes extra partes*, one part out of another, and therefore is *Diviſible*: For neither would it have parts, unleſs it could be divided into them. To which you may further add, that foraſmuch as the parts are *ſubſtantial*, nor depend one of another, it is clearly manifeſt that at leaſt by the Divine Power they may be ſeparate, and ſubſiſt ſeparate one from another.

III. Thirdly, *Extenſion* deprives a *Spirit* of the faculty of *thinking*, as depreſſing it down into the ſame order that Bodies are. And that there is no reaſon why an *extended Spirit* ſhould be more capable of *Perception* than *Matter* that is *extended*

IV. Laſtly, *Penetrability* renders a *Spirit* unable to *move Matter*; becauſe, whenas by reaſon of this *Penetrability* it ſo eaſily ſlides through

through the Matter, it cannot conveniently be united with the Matter whereby it may move the ſame: For without ſome union or inherency (a *Spirit* being deſtitute of all *Impenetrability*) 'tis impoſſible it ſhould protrude the Matter towards any place.

The ſum of which Four difficulties tends to this, that we may underſtand, that though this Idea or *Notion* of a *Spirit* which we have exhibited be ſufficiently plain and explicate, and may be eaſily underſtood; yet from the very perſpicuity of the thing itſelf, it abundantly appears, that it is not the Idea of any *poſſible* thing, and much leſs of a thing *really exiſting*, whenas the parts thereof are ſo manifeſtly repugnant one to another.

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## SECT. XXI.

### *An Anſwer to the firſt of the Four Objections.*

I. BUt againſt as well the *Nullibiſts* as the *Hobbians*, who both of them contend that *Extenſion* and *Matter* is one and the ſame thing, we will prove that the Notion or Idea of a *Spirit* which we have produced, is a Notion of a thing *poſſible*. And as for the *Nullibiſts*, who think we ſo much indulge to corporeal Imagination in this our Opinion of the *Extenſion* of Spirits, I hope on the contrary, that

that I ſhall ſhew that it is onely from hence, that the *Hobbians* and *Nullibiſts* have taken all *Amplitude* from *Spirits*, becauſe their Imagination is not ſufficiently defecated and depurated from the filth and unclean tinctures of *Corporeity*, or rather that they have their Mind over-much addicted and enſlaved to *Material* things, and ſo diſordered, that ſhe knows not how to expedite herſelf from groſs Corporeal Phantaſms.

From which Fountain have ſprung all thoſe difficulties whereby they endeavour to overwhelm this our *Notion* of a *Spirit*; as we ſhall manifeſtly demonſtrate by going through them all, and carefully perpending each of them. For it is to be imputed to their groſs Imagination, That from hence that two equal Amplitudes penetrate one another throughout, they conclude that either one of them muſt therewith periſh, or that they being both conjoyned together, are no bigger than either one of them taken ſingle. For this comes from hence that their mind is ſo illaqueated or limetwigged, as it were, with the Idea's and Properties of corporeal things, that they cannot but infect thoſe things alſo which have nothing corporeal in them with this material Tincture and Contagion, and ſo altogether confound this *Metaphyſical* Extenſion with that Extenſion which is *Phyſical*. I ſay, from this diſeaſe it is that the ſight of their mind is become ſo dull

and

and obtuſe, that they are not able to divide that common Attribute of a Being, I mean *Extenſion Metaphyſical* from *ſpecial* Extenſion and *Material*, and aſſign to *Spirits* their proper Extenſion, and leave to *Matter* hers. Nor according to that known method, whether Logical or Metaphyſical, by intellectual Abſtraction preſcind the *Generical* nature of *Extenſion* from the abovesaid *Species* or kinds thereof. Nor laſtly, (which is another ſign of their obtuſeneſs and dulneſs) is their mind able to *penetrate* with that *Spiritual* Extenſion into the Extenſion *Material*; but like a ſtupid Beaſt ſtands lowing without, as if the mind itſelf were become wholly corporeal; and if any thing enter they believe it periſhes rather and is annihilated, than that two things can at the ſame time coexiſt together in the ſame *Ubi*. Which are Symptomes of a mind deſperately ſick of this Corporeal Malady of *Imagination*, and not ſufficiently accuſtomed or exerciſed in the free Operations of the Intellectual Powers.

And that alſo proceeds from the ſame ſource, That ſuppoſing two Extenſions penetrating one another, and adequately occupying the ſame *Ubi*, they thus conjoyned are conceived not to be greater than either one of them taken by itſelf. For the reaſon of this miſtake is, that the *Mind* incraſſated and ſwayed down by the *Imagination*, cannot together with the

*Spiritual*

*Spiritual* Extenſion penetrate into the *Material*, and follow it throughout, but onely places itſelf hard by, and ſtands without like a groſs ſtupid thing, and altogether Corporeal. For if ſhe could but, with the *Spiritual* Extenſion, inſinuate herſelf into the *Material*, and ſo conceive them both together as two really diſtinct Extenſions, it is impoſſible but that ſhe ſhould therewith conceive them ſo conjoyned into one *Ubi*, to be notwithſtanding not a jot leſs than when they are ſeparated and occupy an *Ubi* as big again: For the *Extenſion* in neither of them is diminiſhed, but their *Situation* onely changed. As it alſo ſometimes comes to paſs in one and the ſame Extenſion of ſome particular Spirits which can dilate and contract their Amplitude into a greater or leſſer *Ubi* without any Augmentation or Diminution of their Extenſion, but onely by the expanſion and retraction of it into another ſite.

SECT.

## SECT. XXII.

***That beſides thoſe THREE Dimenſions which belong to all extended things, a FOURTH alſo is to be admitted, which belongs properly to SPIRITS.***

AND that I may not diſſemble or conceal any thing, Although all *Material* things, conſidered in themſelves, have *three* Dimenſions onely; yet there muſt be admitted in Nature a *Fourth*, which fitly enough, I think, may be called *Eſſential Spiſſitude*; Which, though it moſt properly appertains to thoſe Spirits which can contract their Extenſion into a leſs *Ubi*; yet by an eaſie Analogie it may be referred alſo to Spirits penetrating as well the *Matter* as mutually *one another*: So that where-ever there are more Eſſences than one, or more of the ſame Eſſence in the ſame *Ubi* than is adequate to the Amplitude thereof, there this *Fourth* Dimenſion is to be acknowledged, which we call *Eſſential Spiſſitude*.

Which aſſuredly involves no greater repugnancy than what may ſeem at firſt view, to him that conſiders the thing leſs attentively, to be in the other *three* Dimenſions. Namely, unleſs one would conceive that a piece of Wax ſtretched out, ſuppoſe, to the length of an Eln,

and afterwards rolled together into the form of a Globe, loſes ſomething of its former Extenſion, by this its conglobation, he muſt confeſs that a Spirit, neither by the contraction of itſelf into a leſs ſpace has loſt any thing of its Extenſion or Eſſence, but as in the above-ſaid Wax the diminution of its Longitude is compenſated with the augmentation of its Latitude and Profundity; ſo in a Spirit contracting itſelf, that in like manner its Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity being leſſened, are compenſated by *Eſſential Spiſſitude*, which the Spirit acquires by this contraction of itſelf.

And in both caſes we are to remember that the *Site* is onely changed, but that the *Eſſence* and *Extenſion* are not at all impaired.

Verily theſe things by me are ſo perfectly every way perceived, ſo certain and tried, that I dare appeal to the mind of any one which is free from the morbid prejudices of *Imagination*, and challenge him to trie the ſtrength of his Intellectuals, whether he does not clearly perceive the thing to be ſo as I have defined, and that *two* equal Extenſions, adequately occupying the very ſame *Ubi*, be not *twice* as great as either of them alone, and that they are not cloſed with the ſame terms as the *Imagination* falſly ſuggeſts, but onely with equal.

Nor

Nor is there any need to heap up more words for the ſolving this firſt difficulty; whenas what has been briefly ſaid already abundantly ſufficeth for the penetrating their underſtanding who are prepoſſeſt with no prejudice: But for the piercing of theirs who are blinded with prejudices, infinite will not ſuffice.

## SECT. XXIII.

### *An Anſwer to the ſecond Objection, where the fundamental Errour of the* Nullibiſts, *viz. That whatſoever is extended is the Object of Imagination, is taken notice of.*

II. LEt us try now if we can diſpatch the ſecond difficulty with like ſucceſs, and ſee if it be not wholly to be aſcribed to *Imagination*, that an *Indiſcerpible Extenſion* ſeems to involve in it any contradiction. As if there could be no Extenſion which has not parts real and properly ſo called into which it may be actually divided, *viz.* for this reaſon, that that onely is *extended* which has *partes extra partes*, which being *ſubſtantial*, may be ſeparated one from another, and thus ſeparate ſubſiſt. This is the ſummary account of this difficulty, which nothing but corrupt *imagination* ſupporteth.

Now the first source or Fountain of this errour of the *Nullibists*, is this; That they make every thing that is *extended* the Object of the *Imagination*, and every Object of the Imagination *Corporeal*. The latter whereof undoubtedly is true, if it be taken in a right sence; namely, if they understand such a perception as is either simply and adequately drawn from external Objects; or by increasing, diminishing, transposing, or transforming of parts (as in *Chimæra's* and *Hippocentaurs*) is composed of the same. I acknowledge all these Idea's, as they were sometime some way Objects of *Sensation*, so to be the genuine Objects of *Imagination*, and the perception of these to be rightly termed the operation of Fancie, and that all these things that are thus represented, necessarily are to be look'd upon as *corporeal*, and consequently as *actually divisible*.

But that all *perception* of *Extension* is such *Imagination*, that I confidently deny. Forasmuch as there is an Idea of *infinite Extension* drawn or taken in from no external sense, but is natural and Essential to the very faculty of perceiving; Which the mind can by no means pluck out of herself, nor cast it away from her; but if she will rouze herself up, and by earnest and attentive thinking, fix her animadversion thereon, she will be constrained, whether she will or no, to acknowledge, that

although

although the whole matter of the world were exterminated out of the Universe, there would notwithstanding remain a certain subtile and *immaterial Extension* which has no agreement with that other *Material* one, in any thing, saving that it is extended, as being such that it neither falls under sense, nor is impenetrable, nor can be moved, nor discerped into parts; and that this Idea is not onely *possible*, but *necessary*, and such as we do not at our pleasure feign and invent, but do find it to be so innate and ingrafted in our mind, that we cannot by any force or artifice remove it thence. Which is a most certain demonstration that all *Perception* of *Extension* is not *Imagination* properly so called.

Which in my Opinion ought to be esteemed one of the chiefest and most fundamental Errours of the *Nullibists*, and to which especially this difficulty is to be referred touching an *Indiscerpible Extension*. For we see they confess their own guilt, namely, that their *Mind* is so corrupted by their *Imagination*, and so immersed into it, that they can use no other faculty in the contemplation of any extended thing. And therefore when they make use of their *Imagination* instead of their *Intellect* in contemplating of it, they necessarily look upon it as an Object of *Imagination*; that is, as a *corporeal* thing, and *discerpible* into parts. For, as I noted above, the sight of their mind by rea-

ſon of this *Morbus* ὑλοειδὴς, this *materious Diſeaſe*, if I may ſo ſpeak, is made ſo heavie and dull, that it cannot diſtinguiſh any *Extenſion* from that of *Matter*, as allowing it to appertain to another kind, nor by *Logical* or *Metaphyſical* Abſtraction preſcind it from either.

## SECT. XXIV.

*That Extenſion as ſuch includes in it neither Diviſibility nor Impenetrability, neither Indiviſibility nor Penetrability, but is indifferent to either two of thoſe properties.*

AND from hence it is that becauſe a thing is *extended* they preſently imagine that it has *partes extra partes*, and is not *Ens unum per ſe & non per aliud*, a Being one by itſelf, and not by vertue of another, but ſo framed from the juxtapoſition of parts. Whenas the Idea of *Extenſion* preciſely conſidered in itſelf includes no ſuch thing, but onely a *trinal* Diſtance or *ſolid* Amplitude, that is to ſay, not *linear* onely and *ſuperficiary*, (if we may here uſe thoſe terms which properly belong to magnitude Mathematical) but every way running out and reaching towards every part. This Amplitude ſurely, and nothing beſide, does this bare and ſimple *Extenſion* include, not

not *Penetrability* nor *Impenetrability*, not *Diviſibility* nor yet *Indiviſibility*, but to either affections or properties, or if you will Eſſential Differences, namely, to *Diviſibility* and *Impenetrability*, or to *Penetrability* and *Indiviſibility*, if conſidered in itſelf, is it altogether indifferent, and may be determined to either two of them.

Wherefore, whereas we acknowledge that there is a certain *Extenſion* namely *Material*, which is endued with ſo ſtout and invincible an Ἀντιτυπία or *Impenetrability*, that it neceſſarily and by an inſuperable Renitencie expels and excludes all other Matter that occurs and attempts to penetrate it, nor ſuffers it at all to enter, although in the ſimple Idea of Extenſion, this marvellous virtue of it is not contained, but plainly omitted, as not at all belonging thereto immediately and of itſelf; why may we not as eaſily conceive that another Extenſion, namely, an *Immaterial* one, though Extenſion in itſelf include no ſuch thing, is of ſuch a nature, that it cannot by any other thing whether Material or Immaterial be diſcerped into parts; but by an indiſſoluble neceſſary and eſſential Tie be ſo united and held together with itſelf, that although it can penetrate all things and be penetrated by all things, yet nothing can ſo inſinuate itſelf into it as to disjoyn any thing of its Eſſence any where, or perforate it or make any hole

or Pore in it? that is, that I may ſpeak briefly, What hinders but there may be a *Being* that is immediately *One* of its own nature, and not held together into one by vertue of ſome other, either *Quality* or *Subſtance*? although every Being as a Being is *extended*, becauſe Extenſion in its preciſe Notion does not include any *Phyſical Diviſion*, but the Mind infected with *corporeal Imagination*, does falſly and unskilfully feign it to be neceſſarily there.

## SECT. XXV.

*That every thing that is extended has not parts Phyſically diſcerpible, though Logically or Intellectually diviſible.*

FOr it is nothing which the *Nullibiſts* here alledge, while they ſay, That all Extenſion inferreth parts, and all parts Diviſion. For beſides that the firſt is falſe, foraſmuch as *Ens unum per ſe*, a Being one of itſelf or of its own immediate nature, although *extended* yet includes no *parts* in its Idea, but is conceived according to its proper Eſſence as a thing as ſimple as may be, and therefore compounded of no parts: We anſwer moreover, that it is not at all prejudicial to our cauſe though we ſhould grant that this *Metaphyſical* Extenſion of Spirits is alſo diviſible, but *Logically* onely,

not

not *Physically*; that is to say, is not *discerpible*. But that one should adjoyn a *Physical divisibility* to such an Extension, surely that must necessarily proceed from the impotencie of his *Imagination*, which his Mind cannot curb, nor separate herself from the dreggs and corporeal foulnesses thereof; and hence it is that she tinctures and infects this pure and Spiritual Extension with Corporeal Properties. But that an extended thing may be divided *Logically* or *Intellectually*, when in the mean time it can by no means be discerped, it sufficiently appears from hence, That a *Physical Monad* which has some Amplitude, though the least that possible can be, is conceived thus to be divided in a *Line* consisting of any uneven number of Monads, which notwithstanding the Intellect divides into two equal parts. And verily in a *Metaphysical Monad*, such as the *Holenmerians* conceit the Mind of man to be, and to possess in the mean time and occupie the whole *Body*, there may be here again made a *Logical* Distribution, suppose, *è subjectis*, as they call it, so far forth as this *Metaphysical Monad*, or *Soul* of the *Holenmerians* is conceived to possess the Head, or Trunk, or Limbs of the Body. And yet no man is so delirant as to think that it follows from thence, that such a Soul may be *discerped* into so many parts, and that the parts so discerped may subsist by themselves.

SECT.

## SECT. XXVI.

*An Answer to the latter part of the Second Objection,* which inferreth the separabilitie of the parts of a *Substantial* Extensum, *from the said parts being* Substantial *and independent one of another.*

FRom which a sufficiently fit and accommodate Answer may be fetched to the latter part of this difficulty, namely, to that, which because the parts of Substance are *Substantial* and *independent* one of another, and *subsisting by themselves* ( as being *Substances* ) would infer that they can be *discerped*, at least by the Divine Power , and disjoyned, and being so disjoyned, subsist by themselves. Which I confess to be the chief edge or sting of the whole difficulty , and yet such as I hope I shall with ease file off or blunt. For first, I deny that in a thing that is *absolutely One* and *Simple* as a Spirit is, there are any *Physical* parts, or parts properly so called, but that they are onely falsly feigned and fancied in it, by the impure Imagination. But that the Mind it self being sufficiently defecated and purged from the impure dreggs of Fancie, although from some extrinsecal respect she may consider a Spirit as having parts, yet at the very same

ſame time does ſhe in herſelf, with cloſe attention, obſerve and note, that *ſuch* an *Extenſion* of itſelf has none. And therefore whenas it has no parts it is plain it has no *ſubſtantial* parts, nor *independent* one of another, nor ſubſiſtent of themſelves.

And then as much as concerns thoſe parts which the ſtupid and impotent *Imagination* fancieth in a Spirit, it does not follow from thence, becauſe they are *Subſtantial*, that they may *ſubſiſt ſeparate* by themſelves. For a thing to *ſubſiſt by itſelf*, onely ſignifies ſo to ſubſiſt, that it wants not the Prop of ſome other *Subject* in which it may inhere as *Accidents* do. So that the parts of a *Spirit* may be ſaid to ſubſiſt by themſelves though they cannot ſubſiſt ſeparate, and ſo be ſubſtance ſtill.

SECT.

## SECT. XXVII.

***That the* mutual Independencie *of the parts of an extended Substance may be understood in a* twofold sence; *with an Answer thereto, taken in the first sence thereof.***

BUt what they mean by that *mutual Independencie* of parts I do not fully understand: But I sufficiently conceive that one of these two things must be hinted thereby, *viz.* Either that they are not *mutual* and effectual *causes* to one another of their *Existing*, or that their Existence is understood to be connected by *no necessary condition at all.*

And as for the former sense, I willingly confess those parts which they fancie in a Spirit are not mutual causes of one anothers Existence; but so, that in the mean time I do most firmly deny, that it will thence follow that they may be discerped, and thus discerpt, be separately conserved, no more than the Intelligible parts of a *Physical Monad* which is divided into two by our Reason or Intellect; which surely are no mutual causes of one anothers Existence: or the Members of the Distribution of a *Metaphysical Monad* according to the Doctrine of the *Holenmerians* (*viz.* The Soul totally being in every part of the Body)

which

which no man in his wits can ever hope that they may be diſcerped, although the ſaid Members of the diviſion are not the mutual cauſes of one anothers Exiſtence: For they are but one and the ſame Soul which is not the cauſe of itſelf, but was wholly and entirely cauſed by God.

But you will ſay that there is here manifeſtly a reaſon extant and apparent why theſe Members of the Diſtribution cannot be diſcerped, and diſcerpt ſeparately conſerved, becauſe one and the ſame indiviſible Monad occurs in every Member of the Diſtribution, which therefore ſince it is a ſingle one, it is impoſſible it ſhould be diſcerped from itſelf. To which I on the other ſide anſwer, That it is as manifeſtly extant and apparent how frivolouſly therefore and ineptly Arguments are drawn from *Logical* or Intellectual Diviſions, for the concluding a real ſeparability of parts. And I add further, That as that fictitious *Metaphyſical Monad* cannot be diſcerped or pluckt in pieces from itſelf, no more can any real Spirit, becauſe it is a thing *moſt ſimple* and *moſt abſolutely One*, and which a *pure Mind* darkened and poſſeſſed with no prejudices of *Imagination* does acknowledge no *real* parts at all to be in. For ſo it would *ipſo facto* be a *compound* Thing.

SECT.

## SECT. XXVIII.

### *An Answer to the Independency of parts taken in the second sence.*

FRom whence an eaſie entrance is made to the anſwering this difficulty underſtood in the ſecond ſence of the *mutual Independency* of the parts of a Spirit, whereby their coexiſtence and union are underſtood to be connected by *no neceſſary* Law or Condition. For that this is falſe, I do moſt conſtantly affirm without all demur: For the coexiſtences of the parts, as they call them, of a Spirit, are connected by a Law or Condition *abſolutely neceſſary* and plainly *eſſential*; Forasmuch as a Spirit is a *moſt ſimple* Being, or a Being *unum per ſe & non per aliud*; that is, *one of itſelf or of its own nature immediately ſo*, and not by another either *Subſtance* or *Quality*. For none of thoſe parts, as the *Nullibiſts* call them, can exiſt but upon this condition, that all jointly and unitedly exiſt together; which Condition or Law is contained in the very Idea or nature of every *Spirit*. Whence it cannot be created or any way produced unleſs upon this condition, that all its parts be inſeparably and indiſcerpibly one; as neither a Rectangle Triangle, unleſs upon this condi-

condition, that the powers of the *Cathetus* and *Basis*, be equal to the power of the *Hypotenusa*. Whence the *Indiscerpibility* of a *Spirit* cannot be removed from it, no not *virtute Divina*, as the Schoolmen speak, no more than the above-said Property be disjoyned from a Rectangle Triangle. Out of all which I hope it is at length abundantly clear, that the *Extension* of a Spirit does not at all hinder the *Indiscerpibility* thereof.

## SECT. XXIX.

*An Answer to the third Objection touching the* Imperceptivity *of an extended Substance,* viz. That whatever is, is extended, *and that the NULLIBISTS and HOLENMERIANS themselves cannot give a Reason of the* perceptive *Faculty in Spirits, from their Hypotheses.*

III. NOr is it any lett (which is the third thing) to the faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking* in *Spirits*: For we do not thrust down a *Spirit* by attributing *Extension* to it, into the rank of *Corporeal Beings*, forasmuch as there is nothing in all Nature which is not in some sense *extended*. For whatever of Essence there is in any thing, it either is or may be actually present to some part of the matter,

ter, and therefore it muſt either be *extended* or be contracted to the narrowneſs of a *point*, and be a mere *nothing*. For, as for the *Nullibiſts* and *Holenmerians*, the Opinions of them both are above utterly routed by me, and quite ſubverted and overturned from the very root, that no man may ſeek ſubterfuges and lurking holes there. Wherefore there is a neceſſity that ſomething that is *extended* have *Cogitation* and *Perception* in it, or elſe there will be nothing left that has.

But for that which this Objection further urges, that there occurrs no reaſon why an *extended Spirit* ſhould be more capable of Perception than *extended Matter*, it is verily, in my judgment, a very unlearned and unskilful argutation. For we do not take all this pains in demonſtrating the *Extenſion* of a *Spirit*, that thence we might fetch out a reaſon or account of its faculty of perceiving; but that it may be conceived to be ſome real Being and true Subſtance, and not a vain Figment, ſuch as is every thing that has no Amplitude and is in no ſort *extended*.

But thoſe that ſo ſtickle and ſweat for the proving their Opinion, that a Spirit is *nowhere*, or is *totally* in every part of that *Ubi* it occupies, they are plainly engaged of all right, clearly and diſtinctly to render a reaſon out of their *Hypotheſis* of the *Perceptive faculty* that is acknowledged in *Spirits*, Namely that they plainly

plainly and preciſely deduce from hence, becauſe a thing is *nowhere* or *totally* in every part of the *Vbi* it occupies, that it is neceſſarily endued with a faculty of *perceiving* and *thinking*; ſo that the reaſon of the conjunction of *properties* with the *Subject*, may be clearly thence underſtood.

Which notwithſtanding I am very confident, they can never perform; And that *Perception* and *Cogitation* are the *immediate* Attributes of ſome Subſtance; and that therefore, as that Rule of Prudence, *Enchirid. Ethic.* lib. 3. cap. 4. ſect. 3. declares, no Phyſical reaſon thereof ought to be required, nor can be given, why they are in the Subject wherein they are found.

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## SECT. XXX.

*That from the* Generical *nature of any* Species, *no reaſon is to be fetcht of the conjunction of the* Eſſential Difference *with it*, it being immediate.

BUt ſo we are to conclude, that as *Subſtance* is immediately divided into *Material* and *Immaterial*, or into *Body* and *Spirit*, where no reaſon can be rendred from the Subſtance in *Spirit*, as it is Subſtance, why it ſhould be *Spirit* rather than *Body*; nor from Subſtance in

a *Body*, as it is Subſtance, why it ſhould be *Body* rather than *Spirit*; But theſe *Eſſential Differences* are immediately in the Subject in which they are found: So the caſe ſtands in the ſubdiviſion of *Spirit* into merely *Plaſtical* and *Perceptive*, ſuppoſing there are Spirits that are merely Plaſtical; and then of a *Perceptive Spirit* into merely *Senſitive* and *Intellectual*. For there can be no reaſon rendred touching a *Spirit* as a Spirit in a Spirit merely *Plaſtical*, why it is a Spirit merely *Plaſtical* rather than *Rerceptive*: Nor in a *Perceptive Spirit*, why it is a *Perceptive* Spirit rather than *merely Plaſtical*. And laſtly, in a Perceptive Spirit *Intellectual*, why it is *Intellectual* rather than merely *Senſitive*; and in the *merely Senſitive* Spirit, why it is ſuch rather than *Intellectual*. But theſe *Eſſential Differences* are immediately in the *Subjects* in which they are found, and any Phyſical and intrinſecal reaſon ought not to be asked, nor can be given why they are in thoſe Subjects, as I noted a little above out of the ſaid *Enchiridion Ethicum*.

SECT.

## SECT. XXXI.

*That although the* Holenmerians *and* Nullibiſts *can give no reaſon, why that which perceives ſhould be* TOTALLY *in every part, or ſhould be* NOWHERE *rather than be in any ſort* extended *or* ſomewere, *yet there are reaſons obvious enough, why an extended Spirit, rather ſhould perceive than extended Matter.*

BUt however, though we cannot render a reaſon why this or that *Subſtance* as Subſtance, be a *Spirit* rather than *Body*; or why this or that *Spirit* be *Perceptive* rather than merely *Plaſtical*; yet as the reaſon is ſufficiently plain, why *Matter* or *Body* is a *Subſtance* rather than *Accident*, ſo it is manifeſt enough why that which *Perceives*, or is *Plaſtical*, ſhould be a *Spirit* rather than *Matter* or *Body*; which ſurely is much more than either the *Holenmerians* or *Nullibiſts* can vaunt of. For they can offer no reaſon why that which perceives ſhould rather be *nowhere* than ſomewhere; or *totally* in each part of the *Ubi* it does occupie, than otherwiſe, as may be underſtood from what we have ſaid above.

But now ſince the *Matter* or *Body* which is *diſcerpible* and *Impenetrable* is deſtitute of it-

ſelf of all Life and Motion, certainly it is conſonant to reaſon, that the *Species* oppoſite to *Body*, and which is conceived to be *Penetrable* and *Indiſcerpible*, ſhould be intrinſecally endued with Life in general and Motion. And whenas *Matter* is nothing elſe than a certain ſtupid and looſe *congeries* of *Phyſical Monads*, that the firſt and moſt immediate oppoſite degree in this *indiſcerpible* and *penetrable* Subſtance, which is called *Spirit*, ſhould be the faculty of Union, Motion, and Life, in which all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies* which are found in the world may be conceived to conſiſt. From whence it ought not at all to ſeem ſtrange, that that which is *Plaſtical* ſhould be a Spirit.

And now as for *Perception* itſelf, undoubtedly all Mortals have either a certain confuſed preſage, or more preciſe and determinate Notion, that as that, whatever it is in which the above-ſaid *Sympathies* and *Synenergies* immediately are, ſo more eſpecially that to which belongs the faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking* is a thing of all things the moſt *ſubtile* and moſt *One* that may be.

Wherefore I appeal here to the Mind and judgment of any one, whether he can truly conceive any thing more *Subtile* or more *One* than the *Eſſence* or Notion of a *Spirit* as it is immediately diſtinguiſhed from *Matter*, and oppoſed thereto. For can there be any thing more

more *One* than what has no parts, into which it may be diſcerped? or more *Subtile* than what does not onely penetrate *Matter*, but *itſelf*, or at leaſt other Subſtances of its own kind? For a Spirit can penetrate a Spirit, though Matter cannot penetrate Matter.

There is therefore in the very *Eſſence* of a *Spirit*, although it be *Metaphyſically* extended, no obſcure reaſon why all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies*, why all *Perceptions* and all manner of *Cogitations* ſhould be referred rather to it, by reaſon of the *Unity* and *Subtilty* of its nature, than to *Matter*, which is ſo craſs, that it is *impenetrable*; and is ſo far from *unity* of *Eſſence*, that it conſiſts of *juxtapoſited* parts. But I hope by this I have abundantly ſatisfied this third difficulty.

---

## SECT. XXXII.

*An Anſwer to the fourth Objection as much as reſpects the* HOLENMERIANS *and* NULLIBISTS, *and all thoſe that acknowledge that the Matter is created of God.*

IV. LEt us go on therefore to the Fourth and laſt, which from the *Penetrability* of a *Spirit* concludes its unfitneſs for moving of Matter. For it cannot move Matter, but by impel-

impelling it; nor can it impel it, becauſe it does ſo eaſily, without all reſiſtence, *penetrate* it. Here therefore again, *Imagination* plays her tricks, and meaſures the nature of a *Spirit* by the Laws of Matter, fancying a *Spirit* like ſome *Body* paſſing through an over-large or wide hole, where it cannot ſtick by reaſon of the laxneſs of the paſſage.

But in the mean time, it is to be noted, that neither the *Holenmerians* nor *Nullibiſts* can of right object this difficulty to us, whenas it is much more incredible that either a *Metaphyſical Monad*, or any *Eſſence* that is *nowhere*, ſhould be more fit for the moving Matter, than that which has ſome Amplitude, and is preſent alſo to the Matter that is to be moved. Wherefore we have now onely to do with ſuch Philoſophers as contend that the whole Univerſe conſiſts of Bodies onely: For as for thoſe that acknowledge there is a God, and that Matter was created by him, it is not hard for them to conceive, that there may be a certain faculty in the Soul, which in ſome manner, though very ſhadowiſhly, anſwers to that Power in God of creating Matter; Namely, that as God, though the moſt pure of all Spirits, yet creates Matter the moſt groſs of all things; ſo created Spirits themſelves may emit a certain *Material Vertue*, either ſpontaneouſly or naturally, by which they may intimately inhere in the Subject

ject Matter, and be ſufficiently cloſe united therewith. Which faculty of Spirits in the *Appendix to the Antidote againſt Atheiſm*, is called ὑλοπάθεια, the *Hylopathy* of *Spirits*, or a Power of affecting or being affected by the Matter. But I confeſs that Anſwer is leſs fitly uſed when we have to do with thoſe who deny the Creation of Matter, and much more when with thoſe that deny there is a God.

## SECT. XXXIII.

### *An Anſwer to thoſe that think there is nothing in the Univerſe but Matter or Body.*

WHerefore, whenas we have to do with ſuch infenſe Adverſaries, and ſo much eſtranged from all knowledge and acknowledgement of *Incorporeal Things*, verily we ought to behave ourſelves very cautiouſly and circumſpectly, and ſomething more preciſely to conſider the Title of the Queſtion, which is not, Whether we can accurately diſcern and declare the mode or way that a Spirit moves Matter, but whether its *Penetrability* is repugnant with this faculty of *moving* Matter. But now it is manifeſt, if a Spirit could be united and as it were cohere with the Matter, that it might eaſily move Matter; foraſmuch as

if there be at all any ſuch thing as a Spirit, it is according to the common Opinion of all men to be acknowledged the true Principle and Fountain of all Life and Motion. Wherefore the hinge of the whole controverſie turns upon this one pin, Whether it be repugnant that any *Spirit* ſhould be *united* and as it were *cohere* with *Matter*, or by whatever firmneſs or faſtening (whether permanent or momentaneous) be joyned therewith.

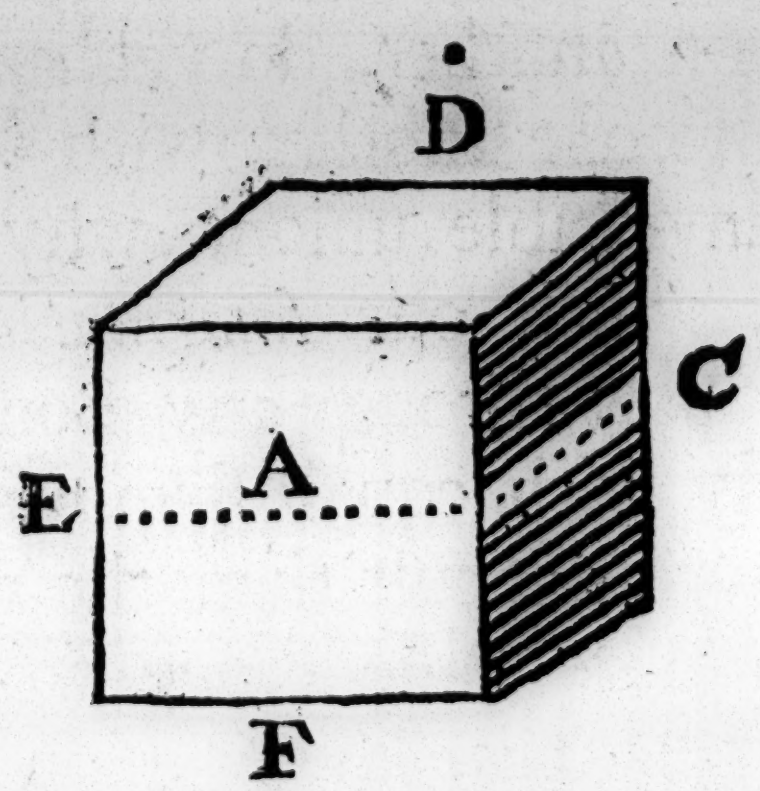
Now that it is not repugnant, I hope I ſhall clearly demonſtrate from hence, that the *unition* of *Spirit* with *Matter*, is as intelligible as the *unition* of one *part* of *Matter* with *another*. For that ought in reaſon to be held an Axiome firm and ſure, *That that is poſſible to be, in which there is found no greater* (not to ſay leſs) *difficulty of ſo being, than in that which we really find to be.* But we ſee one part of Matter really and actually united with another, and that in ſome Bodies with a firmneſs almoſt invincible, as in ſome Stones and Metals, which are held to be the hardeſt of all Bodies. But we will for the more fully underſtanding the buſineſs, ſuppoſe a *Body* abſolutely and perfectly *hard*, conſtituted of no particles, but the very *Phyſical Monads* themſelves, and without all pores.

I ask therefore here, By what vertue, or by what manner of way do the parts of ſo perfect a *Solid* cohere? Undoubtedly they can alledge

alledge nothing here beſides immediate *contact* and *reſt:* For if they fly to any other affections which are allied to Life and Senſe, they are more rightly and more eaſily underſtood to be in a *Spirit* than in *Matter*; and we will preſently pronounce that a *Spirit* may adhere to Matter by the ſame vertues.

But that the *parts* of *Matter* cohere by bare though immediate contact, ſeems as difficult, if not more difficult; than that a *Spirit* penetrating *Matter* ſhould cleave together into one with it: For the contact of the parts of Matter is every where onely ſuperficial, but one and the ſame *indiſcerpible Spirit* penetrates and poſſeſſes the whole Matter at once.

Nor need we fear at all, that it will not inhere becauſe it can ſo eaſily ſlide in, and therefore as it may ſeem, ſlide through, and paſs a-




way. For in a Body perfectly ſolid, ſuppoſe A, in which we will conceive ſome particular

Super-

Superficies, ſuppoſe E, A, C; this Superficies E, A, C, is aſſuredly ſo glib and ſmooth, that there can be nothing imagined more ſmooth and glib: Wherefore why does not the upper part of this ſolid Cube C, D, E, by any the ſlighteſt impulſe ſlide upon the inferiour part of the Cube E, F, C, eſpecially if the inferiour part E, F, C, be held faſt, while the ſuperiour is impelled or thruſt forward? Surely this eaſineſs of the ſliding of Bodies perfectly ſmooth and glib, which touch immediately one another, their eaſineſs, I ſay, of ſliding one upon another, does ſeem at leaſt as neceſſary to our *Imagination*, as the proclivity of the paſſing of a Spirit through the Bodies it penetrates. Wherefore if two parts of Matter, ſuppoſe E, D, C, and E, F, C, which our Imagination doth moſt urgently ſuggeſt to us that they will always with the leaſt impulſe ſlide one upon another, do yet notwithſtanding adhere to one another with a moſt firm and almoſt invincible union, why may not then a Spirit, which our *Imagination* ſuſpects will ſo eaſily paſs through any Body, be united to a Body with equal firmneſs? whenas this is not more difficult than the other, yea rather much more eaſie if one would conſider the thing as it is, laying aſide all prejudice. But now ſince the *Penetrability* of a Spirit is not repugnant with its *union* with *Matter*, it is manifeſt that its faculty of *moving*

*ving Body* is not at all repugnant with its *Penetrability*. Which is the thing that was to be demonſtrated.

But it half repents me that I have with ſo great preparation and pomp attacked ſo ſmall a difficulty, and have ſtriven ſo long with mere Eluſions and preſtigious Juggles of the *Imagination*, (which caſts ſuch a Miſt of fictitious Repugnancies on the true Idea of a Spirit) as with ſo many Phantomes and Spectres of an unquiet Night. But in the mean time I have made it abundantly manifeſt that there are no other Contradictions or Repugnancies in this our Notion of a Spirit, than what the minds of our Adverſaries, polluted with the impure dregs of *Imagination*, and unable to abſtract *Metaphyſical Extenſion* from *Corporeal* affections, do foully and ſlovenly clart upon it, and that this Idea lookt upon in itſelf does clearly appear to be a Notion at leaſt of a thing *Poſſible*; which is all that we drive at in this place.

SECT.

## SECT. XXXIV.

*How far the Notion of a* Spirit *here defended is countenanced and confirmed by the common ſuffrage of all Adverſaries.*

AND that it may appear more plauſible, we will not omit in the laſt place to take notice, how far it is countenanced and confirmed by the common ſuffrage of our Adverſaries: For the *Hobbians*, and whatever other Philoſophers elſe of the ſame ſtamp, do plainly aſſent to us in this, That whatſoever really is, is of neceſſity *extended*. But that they hence infer that there is nothing in Nature but what is *Corporeal*, that truly they do very unskilfully and inconſequently collect, they by ſome weakneſs or morbidneſs of mind tumbling into ſo foul an errour. For it is impoſſible that the mind of man, unleſs it were laden and polluted with the dregs and droſs of Corporeal *Imagination*, ſhould ſuffer itſelf to ſink into ſuch a groſs and dirty Opinion.

But that every thing that is, is extended, the *Nullibiſts* alſo themſelves ſeem to me to be near the very point of acknowledging it for true and certain. For they do not diſſemble it, but that if a *Spirit* be *ſomewhere*, it neceſſarily follows that it is alſo *extended*. And they moreover

over grant, that by its *Operation* it is preſent to or in the Matter, and that the *Eſſence* of a *Spirit* is not *ſeparated* from its *Operations*.

But that a thing ſhould *be*, and yet not be *any where* in the whole Univerſe, is ſo wild and mad a vote, and ſo abſonous and abhorrent from all reaſon, that it cannot be ſaid by any man in his wits, unleſs by way of ſport or ſome ſlim jeſt, as I have intimated above; Whence their caſe is the more to be pitied, who captivated and blinded with admiration of the chief Author of ſo abſurd an Opinion, do ſolemnly and ferioufly embrace, and diligently endeavour to poliſh the ſame.

And laſtly, as for the *Holenmerians*, thoſe of them who are more cautious and conſiderate, do ſo explain their Opinion, that it ſcarce ſeems to differ an hairs breadth from ours. For though they affirm that the Soul is in every part, yet they ſay they underſtand it not of the *Quantity* or *Extenſion* of the Soul, whereby it occupies the whole Body, but of the *perfection* of its *Eſſence* and *Vertue*: Which however true it may be of the *Soul*, it is undoubtedly moſt true of the *Divine Numen*, whoſe Life and Eſſence is moſt perfect and moſt full every where, as being ſuch as every where contains *infinite Goodneſs*, *Wiſdom*, and *Power*.

Thus we ſee that this Idea or Notion of a Spirit which is here exhibited to the world,

is

is not onely *possible* in itself, but very *plausible* and *unexceptionable*, and such as all parties, if they be rightly understood, will be found whether they will or no to contribute to the discovery of the truth and solidity thereof. And therefore is such as will not unusefully nor unseasonably conclude this First Part of *Saducismus Triumphatus*, which treats of the *Possibility* of *Apparitions* and *Witchcraft*, but make the way more easie to the acknowledgement of the force of the Arguments of the Second Part, *viz.* The many *Relations* that are produced to prove the *Actual Existence* of Spirits and Apparitions.

THE

# Saducismus Triumphatus.
## Part the Second.

# *Saduciſmus Triumphatus;*

## Or Full and Plain

# EVIDENCE

## CONCERNING

## Witches and Apparitions.

---

## *The Second Part.*

---

PROVING

Partly by Holy Scripture, partly by a choice Collection of Modern Relations,

## The real EXISTENCE of APPARITIONS, SPIRITS and WITCHES.

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By *Joſ. Glanvil*, late Chaplain to His Majeſty, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

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*LONDON*,

Printed for *J. Collins*, and *S. Lowdns.*

1681.

# ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΤΙΚΟ

# ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ

# THE
# PREFACE.

*I Know it is matter of very little Credit to be a Relator of Stories, and I of all Men living, have the leaſt reaſon to be fond of the Imployment. For I never had any faculty in telling of a Story, and have always had a particular indiſpoſition and backwardneſs to the writing any ſuch. But of all Relations of Fact, there are none like to give a Man ſuch trouble and diſreputation, as thoſe that relate to* Witchcraft *and* Apparitions, *which ſo great a party of Men (in this Age eſpecially) do ſo railly and laugh at, and without more ado, are reſolved to explode and deſpiſe, as meer Winter Tales, and Old Wives Fables. Such they will call and account them, be their Truth and Evidence what it will. For, they have unalterably fixt and determined the point, that* Witches *and* Apparitions *are things ridiculous,*

*incredible, foppiſh, impoſſible; and therefore all Relations that aſſert them are Lies, Cheats and Deluſions, and thoſe that afford any credit to them, are credulous Gulls and ſilly eaſie Believers.*

*Which things, if they ſhould not be ſo, it would ſpoil many a jeſt, and thoſe who thought themſelves great Wits, muſt have the diſcomfort of finding they are miſtaken. They muſt fall back into common and vulgar Belief, and loſe the pretence to extraordinary Sagacity, on which they valued themſelves ſo much, and be brought to be afraid of another World, and be ſubjected to the common terrours which they deſpiſed before, as the juggles and contrivances of* Prieſts *and* Politicians, *and ſo muſt ſee themſelves under a neceſsity of altering their lives, or of being undone. Theſe are very hard and grievous things, and therefore the Stories of* Witches *and* Apparitions *muſt be exploded and run down, or all is loſt.*

*This is the caſe with multitudes of briſk confident Men in our days, ſo that to meddle*

*on*

*on this Subject, is to affront them greatly, to provoke their rage and contempt, and to raiſe the Devil of their Wit and Buffoonry. All which conſidered, it muſt be confeſt to be a very bold and adventurous thing to undertake the Province in which I have engaged. And beſides the provocation which it muſt needs give to the* Huffers *and* Witlings, *there is another ſort whoſe good Opinion I greatly value; ſome ſober and ingenious Spirits, who upon other grounds doubt of the Exiſtence of* Witches, *who may be apt to judge me guilty of Credulity, for the pains I take in this matter. This alſo hath been ſome trouble and diſcouragement.*

*And upon the whole, I am aſſured before-hand, that no* Evidence *of Fact poſſible is ſufficient to remove the obſtinate prejudices of divers reſolved Men, and therefore I know I muſt fall under their heavy cenſures; of which I have conſidered the worſt, and am I hope pretty well prepared to bear the ſevereſt of them. But no Man would expoſe himſelf to all this for nothing, nor*

*have I. There were reasons for this engagement, and they were briefly these that follow.*

*Having been at Mr.* Mompessons *house in the time of the disturbance, seen, and heard somewhat my self, and received an account from Mr.* Mompesson, *and other credible Persons of the whole trouble; I was perswaded to Publish, and to Annex the full account of it to the* Second or Third *Edition of my* Considerations concerning Witchcraft, *to which the Story had near Relation. This I did, and they passed Two or Three Editions together, without much further trouble to me. But of late, I have heard from all parts, and am amazed at it, that that so strongly attested Relation is run down in most places as a Delusion and Imposture, and that Mr.* Mompesson *and my self, have confessed all to be a cheat and contrivance.*

*Concerning this, I have been asked a thousand times, till I have been weary of answering, and the* Questionists *would scarce believe I was in earnest when I denied*

*nied it. I have received Letters about it from known friends and ſtrangers out of many parts of the Three Kingdoms, ſo that I have been haunted almoſt as bad as* Mr. Mompeſſon's *houſe. Moſt of them have declared that it was moſt confidently reported, and believed in all the reſpective Parts, that the buſineſs was a cheat, that* Mr. Mompeſſon *had confeſſed ſo much, and I the ſame: So that I was quite tired with denying and anſwering Letters about it. And to free my ſelf from the trouble, I at laſt reſolved to re-print the Story by it ſelf with my Confutation of the Invention that concerned me, and a Letter I received from* Mr. Mompeſſon *(now Printed in this Book) which cleared the matter as to him.*

*This accordingly I committed to my Booksellers hands ſome years ſince to be Printed. But it being not done, I was continually importuned by new Solicitations and Queſtions, and at length out comes* Mr. Websters *confident Book, in which he ſaith,* That my Story of the *Drummer*, and

the other of *Witchcraft*, are as odd and silly, as any can be told or read, and as fictitious, incredible, ludicrous and ridiculous as any can be, *p.* 11. *And again*, *p.* 278. Must not all Persons that are of sound understanding, judge and believe that all those strange tricks related by Mr. *Glanvil* of his *Drummer* at Mr. *Mompessons* house, which he calls the *Dæmon* of *Tedworth*, were abominable Cheats and Impostures, as I am informed by Persons of good Quality, they were discovered to be.

*But neither did this Confidence, nor his Book (I confess) much move me; for I was very loth to be troubled any more in this matter. But at last divers Eminent Men, and Learned friends of mine having taken notice of it, and being troubled to see so considerable an evidence against* Saducism, *as Mr.* Mompesson's *Story is, so impudently run down by purposely contrived lyes, they urg'd me very much to re-print the Relation, with my* Considerations

rations about Witchcraft; *and ſo give ſome check to the Inſultation and Confidence of Mr.* Webſter.

*To this I ſtood long diſ-inclined, but being preſt by the conſideration that ſuch a Re-enforcement might be a very conſider-able and ſeaſonable ſervice to* Religion, *againſt the ſtupid* Saduciſme *and* Infide-lity *of the Age, I was perſwaded: And having ſignified my being now inclined to the deſign, I received great encourage-ment from ſome of the greateſt Spirits of our Age and Nation, who earneſtly ani-mated me to it. Having reſolved, I be-thought me of making a ſmall* Collection *of the moſt credible and beſt atteſted Stories of this kind that were near and modern, to accompany the Second I had Printed, and to confirm and prove the main Subject.*

## ADVERTISEMENT.

This is the whole of the *Preface*, that was found amongſt Mr. *Glanvil*'s Papers, ſaving five or ſix words, which being ſu-perfluous to the ſenſe of this laſt Clauſe,

and

and beginning ſomething elſe not perfected, I thought better left out. But as for Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s Letter to Mr. *Glanvil*, which is mentioned in this *Preface*, and deſigned to be Printed in this intended Edition, it is out of the Original Copy as follows.

# Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s Letter to Mr. *Glanvil*, Dated *Nov.* 8. Anno 1672.

Worthy Sir,

*MEeting with Dr.* Pierce *accidentally at Sir* Robert Buttons, *he acquainted me of ſomething that paſſed between my Lord of* R— *and your ſelf about my troubles, &c. To which (having but little leiſure) I do give you this account, that I have been very often of late askt the Queſtion, whether I have not confeſſed to His Majeſty or any other, a cheat diſcovered about that affair. To which I gave, and ſhall to my Dying-day give the ſame anſwer, That I muſt bely my ſelf, and perjure my ſelf alſo to acknowledge a cheat in*

*a*

*a thing where I am ſure there was nor could be any, as I, the Miniſter of the Place, and two other Honeſt Gentlemen depoſed at the Aſſizes, upon my Impleading the* Drummer. *If the world will not believe it, it ſhall be indifferent to me, praying God to keep me from the ſame, or the like affliction. And although I am ſure this moſt dammable lye does paſs for current amongſt one ſort of people in the World, invented only, I think, to ſuppreſs the Belief of the Being either of God or Devil; yet I queſtion not but the Thing obtains credit enough amongſt thoſe, whom I principally deſire ſhould retain a more charitable Opinion of me, than to be any way a deviſer of it, only to be talk't of in the World, to my own diſadvantage and reproach; of which ſort I reckon you one, and reſt in haſt,*

SIR,

*Nov.* 8. 72.

Your Obliged Servant,

*Jo. Mompeſſon.*

# The Preface.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

Concerning the Atteſtation of Mr. *Mompeſſon* and others upon Oath at the Aſſizes, the ſame is mentioned alſo; and their Names expreſſed in a Letter to Mr. *James Collins*, which Letter from the Original Copy is as follows.

## Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s LETTER to *Mr. Collins*, Dated *Aug.* 8. Anno 1674.

Sir,

*I Received yours, and had given you an earlier anſwer, had I not been prevented by ſome journeys. I now give you this; That as to any additional part of the Story, I ſhall not trouble you with at preſent, not knowing what is either already publiſhed or omitted, in regard I have not any of Mr.* Glanvil's *Books by me. I never had but one, which was the laſt year borrowed of me for the uſe of the Lord*

Hollis,

Hollis, *and is not yet returned. But as to the buſineſs of the Aſſizes ( which is likely to work moſt on the Incredulous, becauſe the Evidence was given on Oath ) I ſhall here enlarge it to you.*

*When the* Drummer *was eſcaped from his Exile, which he was Sentenced to at* Glouceſter *for a Felony, I took him up, and procured his Committment to* Salisbury *Gaol, where I Indicted him as a Felon', for this ſuppoſed Witchcraft about my Houſe. When the fellow ſaw me in earneſt, he ſent to me from the Priſon, that he was ſorry for my affliction, and if I would procure him leave to come to my Houſe in the nature of an Harveſt-man, he did not queſtion but he ſhould do me good as to that affair. To which I ſent anſwer, I knew he could do me no good in any honeſt way, and therefore rejected it. The Aſſizes came on, where I Indicted him on the Statute* Primo Jacobi *cap.* 12. *where you may find, that to feed, imploy, or reward any evil ſpirit is Felony. And the Indictment againſt him was, that he*

did

*did* quendam malum Spiritum negotiare, *the Grand Jury found the Bill upon the Evidence, but the Petty Jury acquitted him, but not without ſome difficulty.*

*The Evidence upon Oath were my ſelf, one Mr.* William Maton, *one Mr.* Walter Dowſe, *all yet living, and I think of as good Repute, as any this Country has in it, and one Mr.* Jo. Cragg, *then Miniſter of the Place, but ſince dead. We all depoſed ſeveral things that we conceived impoſſible to be done by any natural Agents, as the motion of Chairs, Stools and Bedſtaves, no body being near them, the Beating of Drumms in the Air over the Houſe in clear nights, and nothing viſible; the ſhaking of the Floor and ſtrongeſt parts of the Houſe in ſtill and calm nights, with ſeveral other things of the like nature: And that by other Evidence it was applied to him.*

*For ſome going out of theſe parts to* Glouceſter *whilſt he was there in Priſon, and viſiting him, he ask't them what News in* Wilts. *To which they replyed,*

*they knew none. No, says the* Drummer, *did you not hear of a Gentlemans House that was troubled with the Beating of Drums? They told him again, if that were News, they heard enough of that. Ay, says the* Drummer, *it was because he took my Drum from me; if he had not taken away my Drum, that trouble had never befallen him, and he shall never have his quiet again, till I have my Drum, or satisfaction from him.*

*This was deposed by one* Thomas Avis *Servant to one Mr.* Thomas Sadler *of* North-Wilts, *and these words had like to have cost the* Drummer *his Life. For else, although the things were never so true, it could not have been rightly applyed to him more than to another. I should only add, that the before mentioned Witnesses were Neighbours, and deposed, that they heard and saw these things almost every day or night for many Moneths together. As to the Sculpture you intend, you best understand the advantage, I think*

*it*

*it needleſs. And thoſe Words* [*you ſhall have Drumming enough* ] *is more than I heard him ſpeak: I reſt*

*Your Loving Friend,*

*Tedworth*
**Aug. 8. 1674.** **Jo. Mompeſſon.**

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*An*

# *An Introduction to the Proof of the Exiſtence of* Apparitions, Spirits *and* Witches.

## SECT. I.

### *The great uſefulneſs and ſeaſonableneſs of the preſent Argument, touching* Witches *and* Apparitions, *in ſubſerviency to Religion.*

THe Queſtion, whether there are *Witches* or not, is not matter of vain Speculation, or of indifferent Moment; but an Inquiry of very great and weighty Importance. For, on the reſolution of it, depends the Authority and juſt Execution of ſome of our *Laws*; and which is more, our *Religion* in its main Doctrines is nearly concerned. There is no one, that is not very much a ſtranger to the World but knows how *Atheiſme* and *Infidelity* have advanced in our days, and how openly they now dare to ſhew themſelves in Aſſerting and Diſputing their vile Cauſe. Particularly the *diſtinction* of the *Soul* from the *Body*, the Being of *Spirits*, and a *Future Life* are Aſſertions extreamly deſpiſed and oppoſed by the Men of

this ſort, and if we loſe thoſe Articles, all Religion comes to nothing. They are clearly and fully Aſſerted in the Sacred Oracles, but thoſe Wits have laid aſide theſe Divine Writings. They are proved by the beſt Philoſophy and higheſt Reaſon; but the Unbelievers, divers of them are too ſhallow to be capable of ſuch proofs, and the more ſubtle are ready to Scepticize away thoſe grounds.

But there is one Head of Arguments that troubles them much, and that is, the Topick of *witches* and *Apparitions*. If ſuch there are, it is a ſenſible proof of Spirits and another Life, an Argument of more direct force than any Speculations, or Abſtract reaſonings, and ſuch an one as meets with all the ſorts of *Infidels*. On which account they labour with all their might to perſwade themſelves and others, that *Witches* and *Apparitions* are but Melancholick *Dreams*, or crafty *Impoſtures*; and here it is generally, that they begin with the young-men, whoſe underſtandings they deſign to Debauch.

They expoſe and deride all Relations of *Spirits* and *Witchcraft*, and furniſh them with ſome little Arguments, or rather Colours againſt their *Exiſtence*. And youth is very ready to entertain ſuch Opinions as will help them to phanſie, they are wiſer than the generality of Men. And when they

they have once ſwallowed this Opinion, and are *ſure* there are no *Witches* nor *Apparitions*, they are prepared for the denial of *Spirits*, a *Life to come*, and all the other Principles of *Religion*. So that I think it will be a conſiderable and very ſeaſonable ſervice to it, fully to debate and ſettle this matter, which I ſhall endeavour in the following ſheets, and I hope ſo, as not to impoſe upon my ſelf or others, by empty Rhetorications, fabulous Relations, or Sophiſtical Reaſonings, but treat on the Queſtion with that freedom and plainneſs, that becomes one that is neither fond, fanciful nor credulous.

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## SECT. II.

### *The true ſtating of the Queſtion by defining what a* Witch *and* Witchcraft *is.*

I Know that a great part of the Labour in moſt Controverſies, uſeth to be beſtowed on things impertinent to the main buſineſs, and by them the Minds of both ſides are ſo confounded, that they wander widely from the point in difference, and at laſt loſe it quite. It would quickly be thus in the Queſtion of *Witchcraft*, and uſually is ſo, without previous care to avoid it. But I ſhall take the beſt I can, that my pains on

this Subject be not ſo miſ-beſtowed, but cloſely applyed to the purpoſe: And in order thereunto ſhall briefly define the terms of the Queſtion, and then ſet down what I *grant* to mine Adverſaries, and what I *demand* from them. And when theſe *Preliminaries* are well adjuſted, we ſhall proceed with more diſtinctneſs, and ſtill ſee whereabout we are, and know how far what is affirmed or proved, reaches the main matter in debate.

The Queſtion is, whether there are *Witches* or not. Mr. *Webſter* accuſeth the Writers on the Subject of defect, in not laying down a perfect Deſcription of a *Witch* or *Witchcraft*, or explaining what they mean, *p.* 20. What his perfect Deſcription is, I do not know; but I think I have deſcribed a *Witch* or *Witchcraft* in my *Conſiderations*, ſufficiently to be underſtood, and the Conception which I, and, I think, moſt Men have is, That *a Witch is one, who can do or ſeems to do ſtrange things, beyond the known Power of Art and ordinary Nature, by vertue of a Confederacy with Evil Spirits.*] *Strange Things*, not *Miracles*; theſe are the extraordinary Effects of *Divine* Power, known and diſtinguiſhed by their circumſtances, as I ſhall ſhew in due place. The *ſtrange things* are *really* performed, and are not all *Impoſtures* and *Deluſions*. The Witch *occaſions*, but is not the *Principal* Efficient

ficient, ſhe ſeems to do it, but the *Spirit* performs the wonder, ſometimes immediately, as in *Tranſportations* and *Poſſeſſions*, ſometimes by applying other Natural Cauſes, as in raiſing *Storms*, and inflicting *Diſeaſes*, ſometimes uſing the *Witch* as an *Inſtrument*, and either by the Eyes or Touch, conveying Malign Influences: And theſe things are done by vertue of a *Covenant*, or *Compact* betwixt the *Witch* and an *Evil Spirit*. A *Spirit*, viz. an *Intelligent Creature* of the Inviſible World, whether one of the Evil Angels called *Devils*, or an Inferiour *Dæmon* or *Spirit*, or a wicked *Soul* departed; but one that is able and ready for miſchief, and whether altogether Incorporeal or not, appertains not to this Queſtion.

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## SECT. III.

*That neither the Notation of the Name that ſignifies indifferently, nor the falſe Additions of others to the Notion of a* Witch *can any way diſſettle the Authors definition.*

THis I take to be a plain *Deſcription* of what we mean by a *Witch* and *Witchcraft*: What Mr. *Webſter* and other Advocates for *Witches*, talk concerning the words whereby theſe are expreſt, that they are im-

proper and Metaphorical, ſignifying this, and ſignifying that is altogether idle and impertinent. The word *Witch* ſignifies originally a Wiſe Man, or rather a Wiſe Woman. The ſame doth *Saga* in the Latine, and plainly ſo doth *Wizzard* in Engliſh ſignify a Wiſe Man, and they are vulgarly called cunning Men or Women. An Art, Knowledge, Cunning they have that is extraordinary; but it is far from true Wiſdom, and the word is degenerated into an ill ſenſe, as *Magia* is.

So then they are called, and we need look no further, it is enough, that by the *Word*, we mean the *Thing* and *Perſon* I have deſcribed, which is the common meaning; and Mr. *Webſter* and the reſt prevaricate when they make it ſignify an ordinary *Cheat*, a *Couzener*, a *Poyſoner*, *Seducer*, and I know not what. Words ſignify as they are uſed, and in common uſe, *Witch* and *Witchcraft*, do indeed imply theſe, but they emply more, *viz.* Deluding, Cheating and Hurting by the Power of an *Evil Spirit* in *Covenant* with a wicked Man or Woman: This is our Notion of a *Witch.*

Mr. *Webſter* I know will not have it to be a perfect Deſcription. He adds to the Notion of the *Witch* he oppoſeth, *carnal Copulation* with the *Devil*, and *real Transformation* into an *Hare*, *Cat*, *Dog*, *Wolf*; the ſame doth

doth Mr. *Wagstaffe*. Which is, as if a Man ſhould define an Angel to be a Creature in the ſhape of a Boy with Wings, and then prove there is no ſuch Being. Of all Men I would not have Mr. *Webſter* to make my Definitions for me; we our ſelves are to have the leave to tell what it is that we affirm and defend. And I have deſcribed the *Witch* and *Witchcraft*, that ſober Men believe and aſſert. Thus briefly for Defining.

## SECT. IV.

### *What things the Authour concedes in this controverſie about* Witches *and* Witchcraft.

I Shall let the Patrons of *Witches* know what I allow and grant to them;

Firſt, I grant, That there are ſome Witty and Ingenious Men of the oppoſite Belief to me in the Queſtion. Yea, it is accounted a piece of Wit to laugh at the Belief of *Witches* as ſilly Credulity. And ſome Men value themſelves upon it, and pride them in their ſuppoſed Sagacity of ſeeing the Cheat that impoſeth on ſo great a part of Believing Mankind. And the Stories of *Witches* and *Apparitions* afford a great deal of

Subject for Wit, which it is pity that a witty Man ſhould loſe.

Secondly, I own that ſome of thoſe who deny *Witches* have no deſign againſt, nor a diſinclination to Religion, but believe Spirits, and a Life to come, as other ſober Chriſtians do, and ſo are neither *Atheiſts*, *Sadducees*, nor *Hobbiſts*.

Thirdly, I allow that the great Body of Mankind is very credulous, and in this matter ſo, that they do believe vain impoſſible things in relation to it. That *carnal Copulation* with the *Devil*, and *real Tranſmutation* of Men and Women into other Creatures are ſuch. That people are apt to impute the *extraordinaries* of Art, or Nature to *Witchcraft*, and that their *Credulity* is often abuſed by ſubtle and deſigning *Knaves* through theſe. That there are Ten thouſand ſilly lying Stories of *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions* among the vulgar. That infinite ſuch have been occaſioned by Cheats and *Popiſh* Superſtitions, and many invented and contrived by the Knavery of *Popiſh* Prieſts.

Fourthly, I grant that Melancholy and Imagination have very great force, and can beget ſtrange perſwaſions. And that many Stories of *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions* have been but Melancholy fancies.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, I know and yield, that there are many ſtrange natural Diſeaſes that have odd Symptomes, and produce wonderful and aſtoniſhing effects beyond the uſual courſe of Nature, and that ſuch are ſometimes falſly aſcribed to *Witchcraft*.

Sixthly, I own, the *Popiſh* Inquiſitours, and other Witch-finders have done much wrong, that they have deſtroyed innocent perſons for *Witches*, and that Watching and Torture have extorted extraordinary Confeſſions from ſome that were not guilty.

Seventhly and Laſtly, I grant that the Tranſactions of *Spirits* with *Witches*, which we affirm to be true and certain, are many of them very ſtrange and uncouth, and that we can ſcarce give any account of the reaſons of them, or well reconcile many of thoſe paſſages to the commonly received Notion of *Spirits*, and the State of the next World.

If theſe Conceſſions will do mine Adverſaries in this Queſtion any good, they have them freely. And by them I have already almoſt ſpoiled all Mr. *Webſter*'s and Mr. *Wagſtaffe*'s, and the other Witch-Advocates Books, which prove little elſe, than what I have here granted. And having been ſo free in Conceſſions, I may expect that ſomething ſhould be granted me from the other party.

A D-

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*Thoſe that are mentioned in the ſecond Conceſſion, though they are not* Atheiſts, Sadducees *nor* Hobbiſts; *yet if they deny* Witches, *it is plain they are* Antiſcripturiſts, *the Scripture ſo plainly atteſting the contrary.*

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## SECT. V.

### *The* Poſtulata *which the Authour demands of his Adverſaries as his juſt right.*

THe demands that I make are; Firſt, That whether *Witches* are or are not, is a queſtion of Fact: For it is in effect, whether any Men or Women have been, or are in Covenant with *Evil Spirits*, and whether they by the *Spirits* help, or he on their account performs ſuch or ſuch things.

Secondly, That matter of Fact can only be proved by immediate Senſe, or the Teſtimony

ſtimony of others, *Divine* or *Humane*. To endeavour to demonſtrate Fact by abſtract reaſoning and ſpeculation, is, as if a Man ſhould prove that *Julius Cæſar* founded the Empire of *Rome*, by *Algebra* or *Metaphyſicks*. So that what Mr. *Webſter* ſaith, *p.* 43. That the true and proper mediums to prove the actions of *Witches* by, are *Scripture* and ſound *Reaſon*, and not the improper way of *Teſtimony* (which we uſe in the oppoſition that *Teſtimony* ſtands to *Scripture* and ſound *Reaſon*) is very Non-ſenſe.

Thirdly, That the Hiſtory of the *Scripture* is not all *Allegory*, but generally hath a plain literal and obvious meaning.

Fourthly, That ſome *Humane Teſtimonies* are credible and certain, *viz.* They may be ſo circumſtantiated as to leave no reaſon of doubt. For our Senſes ſometimes report truth, and all Mankind are not Lyars, Cheats and Knaves, at leaſt they are not all Lyars, when they have no Intereſt to be ſo.

Fifthly, That which is ſufficiently and undeniably proved, ought not to be denyed, becauſe we know not how it can be, that is, becauſe there are difficulties in the conceiving of it. Otherwiſe *Senſe* and *Knowledge* is gone as well as *Faith*. For the *Modus* of moſt things is unknown, and the moſt obvious in Nature have inextricable

diffi-

difficulties in the Speculation of them, as I have ſhewn in my *Scepſis Scientifica.*

Sixthly and laſtly, we are much in the dark, as to the *Nature* and *Kinds* of *Spirits*, and the *particular* condition of the other World. The Angels, Devils and Souls happineſs and miſery we know, but what kinds are under theſe generals, and what actions, circumſtances and ways of Life under thoſe States we little underſtand. Theſe are my *Poſtulata* or demands, which I ſuppoſe will be thought reaſonable, and ſuch as need no more proof.

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*Proof*

# *Proof of* Apparitions, Spirits, *and* Witches *from* Holy-Scripture.

## SECT. I.

### *The Authours purpose of proving* Apparitions *and* Witchcraft, *to such as believe* Scripture, *as first from the* Apparition *of* Angels.

AND having thus prepared my way, I come to prove that there are *Witches* against both the sorts that deny their Existence, *viz.* Those that believe the *Scriptures*, and the Wits or Witlings that will *not* admit their Testimony. To the first I shall prove the being of *Witches* by plain Evidence taken from the Divine Oracles, and to the other, and indeed to both, I shall evince the same by as full and clear Testimonies, as matter of fact is capable of, and then answer the opposite Objections, and those particularly of the three late confident Exploders of Witchcraft; * Mr. *Webster*, Mr. *Wagstaffe*, and the *Authour* of the *Doctrine of Devils*.

The Proof I intend shall be of these two things, *viz.* That *Spirits* have sensibly transacted

acted with Men, and that ſome have been in ſuch Leagues with them, as to be enabled thereby to do wonders.

Theſe ſenſible Tranſactions of Spirits with Men, are evident from *Apparitions* and *Poſſeſſions*. The Apparition of *Angels*, their diſcourſes and predictions, ſenſible converſes with Men and Women are frequently recorded in the Scripture. An *Angel* appeared to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. Three Angels in the ſhape of Men appeared to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 18. Two to *Lot* in the ſame likeneſs, *Gen.* 19. An Angel called to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 21. 17. and ſo did one to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 22. An Angel ſpake to and converſed with *Jacob* in a Dream, *Gen.* 31. One of the ſame appeared to *Moſes* in the Buſh, *Exod.* 3. An Angel went before the Camp of *Iſrael*, *Exod.* 14. An Angel met *Balaam* in the way, *Numb.* 22. An Angel ſpake to all the People of *Iſrael*, *Judges* 2. An Angel appeared to *Gideon*, *Judges* 6. and to the Wife of *Manoah*, *Judges* 13. An Angel deſtroyed the People, 2 *Sam.* 24. An Angel appeared to *Eliab*, 1 *Kings* 19. An Angel ſmote in the Camp of the *Aſſyrians* 184000. 2 Kings 35. An Angel ſtood by the Threſhing-floor of *Ornan*, 1 *Chron.* 21. 15. An Angel talked with *Zachariah* the Prophet, *Zach.* 1.

An Angel appeared to the two *Mary*'s at our Lords Sepulchre, *Matth.* 28. An Angel foretold

foretold the Birth of *John Baptiſt* to *Zachariah* the Prieſt, *Luke* 1. *Gabriel* was ſent to the Holy Virgin, *Luke* 1. 26. An Angel appeared to the Shepherds, *Luke* 2. An Angel opened the Priſon Door to *Peter* and the reſt, *Acts* 5. I might accumulate many more inſtances, but theſe are enough. And many circumſtances of ſenſible Converſe belong to moſt of them, which may be read at large in the reſpective Chapters. And ſince the Intercourſes of Angels were ſo frequent in former days, why ſhould we be averſe to the belief that Spirits ſometimes tranſact with Men now ?

## ADVERTISEMENT.

* *I find amongſt Mr.* Glanvil's *Papers, the firſt Lineaments or Strokes of an Anſwer to Mr.* Wagſtaffe, *and to the* Authour *of the* Doctrine of Devils, *but more fully to Mr.* Webſter, *at leaſt Seventeen Sheets where he anſwers ſolidly and ſubſtantially where I can read his Hand, but it reaches but to the Sixth Chapter. And in truth he has laid about him ſo well in theſe Sheets that are publiſhed, that thoſe may well ſeem the leſs neceſſary.*

SECT.

## SECT. II.

### *The Evaſions his Adverſaries uſe to eſcape the force of theſe Proofs of Scripture from the Apparition of Angels, with the Authours Anſwer.*

THere are ſeveral Evaſions, by which ſome endeavour to eſcape theſe Texts; as, Firſt the *Sadducees* of old, and *Familiſts* of later days, who hold, to wit, theſe, that the *Angels* we read of, were but *Divine Graces*, the other that they were *Divine Phantaſmes* created to ſerve a preſent occaſion, which ceaſed to be as ſoon as they diſappeared. One would think that none that ever had read the Scriptures, ſhould entertain ſuch a conceit as this, that is ſo contrary to the account they every where give of thoſe celeſtial Creatures. But there is nothing ſo abſurd, but ſome Men will embrace to ſupport their Opinions.

Let us conſider a little how differently from this vain Fancy the Scripture deſcribes them. They are called *Spirits*, an Attribute given to *God* himſelf the prime *Subſiſtence*, who is by way of eminence called the *Father of Spirits*, not of *Phantaſmes*. And

*Spirit*

*Spirit* imports as much *Subſtance* as *Body*, though without groſs bulk. We read of *Elect* Angels, and the Angels that *ſtand before the Throne of God* continually, and that always behold the Face of God. Of the *Faln* Angels that kept not their firſt Station, that are held in the Chains of Darkneſs; and of *everlaſting Fire* prepared for the *Devil* and *his Angels* againſt the Judgment of the great Day. Both had their Order of Superiority and Inferiority, *Michael* and his Angels, the *Dragon* and his Angels. We are made little lower than the Angels. In Heaven we ſhall be as the Angels of God. Of the Day of Judgment knoweth no Man, no not the *Angels*. Let all the Angels of God Worſhip him.

Which Deſcriptions of the *Nature*, *Order*, *Condition*, *Attributes* of *Angels*, and infinite more ſuch up and down the Scriptures, are not applicable to *Phantaſms*, but demonſtratively prove that the *Angels* of whoſe *Apparitions* we hear ſo frequently there, were real permanent *ſubſiſtences*, and not mere *Phantaſms* and *Shadows*.

## SECT. III.

*That the Angels that are ſaid to have appeared in Scripture were not* Men-Meſſengers, *but* Inhabitants *of the* Inviſible World; *And whether they ate and drank or no.*

BUt were not thoſe Angels that ſo appeared, ſpecial *Prophets*, *Divine Meſſengers*, ſometimes in Scripture confeſſedly called Angels? They did eat and drink with *Abraham*, and with *Lot*, by which it ſhould ſeem that they were real Men. But whoever ſhall look over the Inſtances alledged of the *Apparition* of *Angels*, and read them in all the Circumſtances of the Text, will plainly ſee that they could not be *Men*.

Such could not be the *Angel* that ſpake to *Abraham* and *Hagar* out of Heaven, that converſed with *Jacob* in a Dream, that appeared to *Moſes* in the Burning Buſh, that appeared to *Manoah*, and aſcended, in his and his Wife's preſence, in the flame of the Sacrifice, that went before the Camp of *Iſrael*, that ſtood before *Balaam* in the way unſeen by him, that ſmote the Army of the *Aſſyrians*, that appeared to *Zacharias* in the Temple, and to the *Mary*'s at the Sepulchre.

Theſe

Theſe muſt be a ſort of *Beings* ſuperiour to Mankind, *Angels* in the proper ſenſe, who are ſometimes in Scripture called *Men*, becauſe they appear in our likeneſs.

But whether theſe do receive refection or ſuſtinence in their own World and State or not, I will not diſpute. It is moſt probable, and it hath been the Doctrine both of Fathers and Philoſophers, that they are vitally united to *Ætherial* and *Heavenly* Bodies, which poſſibly may need recruits ſome ſuch way, and ſo *Angels Food* may be more than a *Metaphor*. But certainly they cannot eat after our manner, nor feed on our groſs Dyet, except in appearance only. They may make ſhew of doing it (as the Angel *Raphael* told *Tobit* that he did, *Tob.* 12. 19. *All theſe days I did appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did ſee a Viſion*) but really they do it not. So that when *Abraham*'s and *Lot*'s Angels are ſaid to eat and drink with them, the Scripture ſpeaks as to them it ſeemed. And ſo the *Jeruſalem Targum* reads, *and they ſeemed as if they did eat and drink*. And we may ſuppoſe that Men's Conceptions of Angels were not very refined in thoſe days, nor could they have borne their ſenſible and free Converſes, if they had look't on them as Creatures of a Nature ſo diſtant from their own.

And therefore afterward, when they were better underſtood, thoſe to whom they appeared were ſtruck with great dread and amazement, and thought that they ſhould preſently dye. Nor do we, as I remember, read any more of the Angels eating or drinking after what ſeemed to *Abraham* and *Lot*. Indeed *Manoah* invited the Angel to eat, *Judg.* 13. 15. but it was before he knew he was an Angel, and it is ſet down in excuſe of the offer, *v.* 16. *For* Manoah *knew not that he was an Angel of the Lord*, implying that the invitation had been abſurd if he had known it.

I have ſaid this in anſwer to the objection, though the main cauſe is not concerned. For though I ſhould grant that *Abraham*'s and *Lot*'s Angels were Men, yet the other inſtances in which that could not be ſaid or ſuppoſed, are more than enough to carry my point, That *real* Angels, *Inhabitants* of the *Inviſible World*, did ſometimes ſenſibly appear.

SECT.

## SECT. IV.

### *That Angels are ſtill Miniſtring Spirits, as well as of old.*

BUt it will be ſaid, when they did appear, it was upon *Divine Errands*, and God ſent them to ſerve the ends of his Government and Providence; which I grant. And God Almighty hath the ſame ends to ſerve ſtill, he governs the World now, and his Providence is as watchful as ever, and the Angels are the chief Miniſters of that Providence, and Miniſtring Spirits for our good. The Goſpel was uſhered in by the *Apparition* of *Angels*, and many things done by them in the carrying of it on. And why we ſhould think they may not be ſent, and ſhould not appear on occaſion now, I do not ſee. But this is more than I need ſay yet, being for the firſt ſtep only to ſhew, that Spirits *have* tranſacted with Men.

## SECT. V.

### *Proofs from the* Apparitions *of* Evil Spirits, *recorded in Scripture.*

THose I have mentioned hitherto, have been *good* and *benign Spirits*, but *evil Spirits* have alſo appeared, and ſenſibly had to do with Mankind. My firſt inſtance of this is one of the firſt buſineſſes that was in the World, the Temptation of *Eve* by the *Devil* in the Serpent. An Argument which thoſe that adhere to the Letter of thoſe three firſt Chapters cannot avoid. Evil Angels were ſent among the *Ægyptians*, *Pſalm* 78. 49. and thoſe paſſed through and ſmote the Land. But the Deſtroyers, *viz.* the Evil Angels were not permitted to come into the *Iſraelites* Houſes, *Exod.* 12. 23. When God asked Sathan whence he came, *Job* 1.7. he anſwered, from going to and fro in the Earth. By Divine permiſſion he raiſed the great Wind that blew down the Houſe upon *Jobs* Children, *v.* 19. and ſmote his Body all over with Boyls, *Job* 2.7. He tempted our Saviour in an external ſenſible way, carrying him from place to place, and urging the Son of God to worſhip him, *Matth.*4.

But

But more of this will appear by conſidering the ſecond head propoſed, *viz. Poſſeſſion* of Evil Spirits.

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## SECT. VI.

### *Proofs from* Poſſeſſion *of Evil Spirits, and that they were not Diſeaſes, as the Witch-Advocates would have them.*

THat ſuch *Poſſeſſions* have been, we find frequently and plainly delivered in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, and ſo often, that I ſhall not need to recite particulars. The Evaſion that the Witch-Advocates have for this, is, that the *Devils* and *unclean Spirits* ſpoken of in thoſe places, which our Saviour is ſaid to have caſt out, were ſtrange and uncommon *Diſeaſes*, which the *Jews* thought to be *Devils*, and Chriſt who came not to teach Men Philoſophy, complyed with their deceived apprehenſion, and the Evangeliſts ſpeak according to their conceit in this matter. But if this Anſwer muſt paſs, then in the firſt place,

Farewel all Scripture, it may be made to ſay what we pleaſe; and if when the Scripture ſpeaks in a plain Hiſtory of *unclean Spirits* and *Devils*, we may underſtand *Diſ-*

*eaſes* by it, then what we read of *good Angels* may be *Graces* and *Vertues*, and what we read of *Chriſt himſelf*, may all be interpreted of the *Chriſt within*, and ſo all the Scripture, and all Religion ſhall ſignify what any Man thinks fit.

Secondly, The cure of Diſeaſes is mentioned in many of the Texts, diſtinctly from the caſting out of Devils. Thus *Matth.* 10. 1. *He gave the Diſciples Power againſt unclean Spirits to caſt them out, and to heal all manner of ſickneſſes, and all manner of Diſeaſes.* This was a different Power from the former, and *all manner* of Sickneſſes and Diſeaſes implies the uncommon and extraordinary, which our *Sadducees* would have the Devils to be, *viz.* Diſeaſes, as well as the ordinary and uſual ones are. So *Luke* 6. 18. *He healed them of their Diſeaſes, and thoſe that were vexed with unclean Spirits, were brought to him, and he healed them likewiſe.* And moſt plainly, *Matth.* 4. 24. *And they brought unto him all ſick people, that were taken with divers Diſeaſes and Torments, and thoſe that were poſſeſſed with Devils, and thoſe that were Lunatick, and thoſe that had the Palſie, and he healed them.* The Mad-men, and thoſe that had the Falling-Sickneſs, the Diſtempers which the Witch-Advocates make Devils of, are here mentioned apart, and as diſtinct from thoſe Devils our Saviour caſt out.

Third-

Thirdly, Many things are attributed to thoſe *Devils* that were caſt out, which are not applicable to *Diſeaſes*. The *Devils* in the *Poſſeſſed* among the *Gergaſens*, *Matth.* 8. 16. beſought Chriſt, ſaying, *If thou caſt us out, ſuffer us to go away into the Herd of Swine, and he gave them leave.* Mark 5. 8. Sure the *Diſeaſes* did not *beſeech* him; But perhaps the *Men* did. Had *they* a mind to go into the *Swine*? and did they enter into them? A ſort of *Poſſeſſion* this, that was never heard of, a *Beaſt poſſeſt* with a *Man*. But St. *Luke* tells us, they were the *Devils* that went out of the *Men*, and entered into the *Swine*, *Luke* 8. 33. The Men did not go out of themſelves, and therefore, if what went out was not the *Diſeaſe*, it was really the *Devil* or unclean Spirit.

So *Luke* 4. 33. In the Synagogue there was a Man that had a Spirit of an unclean Devil, and cryed out with a loud Voice, ſaying, *Let us alone*, &c. Well, but might not this be the *Man himſelf* that cryed out ſo? Therefore read a little on, *v.* 35. *And Jeſus rebuked him*, viz. *him* that *ſpake*, ſaying to the *ſame* ſtill, *Hold thy peace and come out of him.* Which muſt be another Perſon diſtinct from the Man himſelf, and who was that? It follows, *And when the* Devil *had thrown him in the midſt, he came out of him*, the *ſame Devil* that *ſpake*; *that* our Saviour

*re-*

*rebuked*, and *commanded* to come out, which could be no other than a real Evil Spirit.

And that thoſe *ejected Devils* were not *Diſeaſes* appears further, *Matth.* 12. *v.* 22. *There was brought unto him, one poſſeſſed with a Devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, inſomuch* (to wit, the conſequence of the ejecting the Devil was) *that the blind and dumb both ſpake and ſaw.* The *Phariſees*, v. 24. impute *this* caſting out Devils to a confederacy with *Beelzebub* the Prince of the Devils; our Saviour there argues, that then Sathan ſhould be divided againſt himſelf: namely, *Beelzebub* the chief againſt the *Inferiour Devils* that he caſt out; who are of his Kingdom, and doing the work of it: For there it follows, *that his Kingdom could not ſtand*, v. 26. Theſe things will be hardly applyed to *Diſeaſes*. And,

Fourthly and laſtly, If the Evangeliſt ſhould call *Diſeaſes Devils*, and *unclean Spirits*, and ſpeak of caſting out *Devils* in an Hiſtory, with all the plainneſs and expreſneſs of Words, and Phraſe, and Circumſtance, that ſuch an action could be deſcribed by, and yet mean nothing of it, what would this ſuggeſt, but that they falſly aſcribed to Chriſt wonders that he never did, and conſequently that they were Lyars and Deceivers, and vain Impoſtours? For clear it is, that whoever ſhall read thoſe paſſages

in

in the Goſpel without a prepoſſeſt Opinion, will be led into this belief by them, that our Saviour did really caſt Devils out of Perſons poſſeſt. And if there be really no ſuch thing as *Poſſeſſion* by *evil Spirits*, but only Diſeaſes by the ignorant and credulous people taken for ſuch, then the Hiſtory impoſeth on us, and leads Men into a perſwaſion of things done by the Power of Chriſt that never were. And what execution this will do upon the truth, and credit of the whole Hiſtory, is very eaſie to underſtand.

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## SECT. VII.

*That the Witch-Advocates cannot elude Scripture-Teſtimony of* Poſſeſſion *by* Evil Spirits, *by ſaying it ſpeaks according to the received Opinions of Men.*

I But the Scripture doth, we know, ſpeak often according to the received Opinions of Men, though they are errours, which it is not concerned to rectify, when they concern no *Morality* or *Religion*.

But firſt, The Doctrine of *Spirits* and *Devils* was not the received Opinion of all the *Jews*: The *Sadducees* a conſiderable Sect were of another mind. So that the Stories

of

of ejecting ſuch, muſt look to them as Impoſtures. And the Scriptures were not written only for the *Jews*, and for that particular time alone, but for all Places and all Ages. Moſt of which have no ſuch uſe of calling *Diſeaſes Devils*, and among them the Hiſtory muſt either convey a falſe Opinion, or loſe the Reputation of its Truth.

Secondly, Though the Scripture doth not vary from the common forms of Speech, where they are grounded upon harmleſs and leſſer miſtakes, yet when ſuch are great and dangerous, prejudicial to the Glory of God, and Intereſt of Religion, it is then much concerned to reform and rectify ſuch errours. And according to the Belief of the *Witch-Advocates*, the Doctrine of *Poſſeſſions* is highly ſuch. For it leads to the Opinion of *Witchcraft*, which they make ſuch a Diſmal and Tragical Error, Blaſphemy, an abominably Idolatrous, yea an Atheiſtical Doctrine, the grand Apoſtaſie, the greateſt that ever was or can be, that which cuts off Chriſts Head, and Un-Gods him, renounceth Chriſt and God, and owns the Devil, and makes him equal to them, *&c.* As the *Authour* of the *Grand Apoſtaſie* raves.

And Mr. *Webſter* ſaith little leſs of this Opinion in his Preface, *viz.* That it tends to advance Superſtition and Popery, is derogatory to the Wiſdom, Juſtice and Providence

dence of the Almighty, tending to cry up the Power of the Kingdom of darkneſs, to queſtion the verity of the principal Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, concerning the Reſurrection of Chriſt, and generally tends to the obſtructing of Godlineſs and Piety.

And Mr. *Wagſtaffe* loads it with as dreadful imputations in his Preface; As that it doth neceſſarily infer plurality of Gods by attributing *Omnipotent* effects to more than one, and that it ſuppoſeth many *Omnipotents*, and many *Omniſcients*. If any thing of this be ſo, certainly our Saviours inſpired Hiſtorians would not have connived at, much leſs would they have ſpoken in the Phraſe, that ſuppoſeth and encourageth a common Error, that leads to ſuch an horrid Opinion.

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## SECT. VIII.

*An Anſwer to an Objection from Chriſts not mentioning his caſting out Devils to* John's *Diſciples, amongſt other Miracles.*

BUt ſaith the *Authour* of the *Grand Apoſtaſie*, p. 34. our Saviour himſelf in his Anſwer to the Diſciples of *John* the *Baptiſt*, *Luke* 7. doth not pretend to the caſting out *Devils*,

*Devils*, but only the cure of *Diſeaſes*, and raiſing the *Dead*. To which I ſay, Firſt, we may not argue negatively from Scripture in ſuch matters, and certainly we ought not to argue from ſilence in one place, againſt plain affirmations in many.

Secondly, Our Saviour anſwers in reference to the things he was then doing, when the Diſciples of *John* came to him, v. 21. *And in that ſame hour he cured many of their Infirmities and Plagues.* Evil Spirits, it muſt be confeſſed, are alſo mentioned. Some of thoſe Diſeaſes it is like were occaſioned by Evil Spirits, as (*Matth.* 12. 22.) the blindneſs and dumbneſs of the *poſſeſſed perſon* there was. And then the *ejection* of the *Evil Spirit* is implyed, when the *Diſeaſe* is ſaid to be *Cured*.

Thirdly, The buſineſs of *John*'s Diſciples was to enquire whether he was the *Meſſiah*, and it was fit our Saviour in his Anſwer ſhould give ſuch proofs of his being ſo, as were plain and palpable. *Go your way*, ſaith he, *and tell* John *what things ye have ſeen and heard*, Luke 7. 22. They had heard him Preach the Goſpel it is like, and had ſeen him Cure Diſeaſes. Theſe things were plain and ſenſible, and could admit of no diſpute or doubt. But whether the Diſtempers Chriſt then healed, were inflicted by Evil Spirits, and whether thoſe were caſt

out

out in the Cure, did not plainly appear at that time. Our Saviour therefore did not bid them mention that Inſtance to their Maſter *John*, becauſe they could not teſtify it on their own knowledge, as they could the things themſelves ſaw and heard.

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## SECT. IX.

*An Anſwer to two more Objections; the one, that St.* John *mentions no caſting out Devils in his Goſpel; the other, that to have a Devil, and to be mad are* Synonyma's.

BUt the paſſionate Witch-Advocate goes on. St. *John* the Evangeliſt, who eſpecially ſets himſelf upon the proof of the Godhead of Chriſt, hints nothing of his ejecting Devils. Which one would think ſhould be no proof, ſince the other three do; and St. *John* chiefly ſupplyed what they omitted. And ſince this Evangeliſt ſo particularly ſets himſelf upon the proof of Chriſts Divinity, he mentions no Miracles, which were the proof, but ſuch as were ſenſible and indiſputable. And our Authour himſelf after *p.* 41. ſaith, That the cure of *Diſeaſes* was more for Chriſts Honour, and the proof of his

his Godhead, than the *casting out Devils* could have been. For possibly, saith he, in that, there might have been some probable grounds of the *Pharisees* Blasphemy, that he cast out Devils by *Beelzebub*.

So that he *answers* and *contradicts* himself at once: For *p.* 34. he saith, It had been a great oversight in St. *John* to neglect such an Argument. If such a thing had ever been, this would have proved him to have been God indeed, and his Power paramount above all Principalities and Powers, *&c.* *p.* 35. And yet now curing *Diseases* proves it better, and the casting out Devils will scarce do it at all, since it might, adds he, be in some sort credible, that he did it by favour, connivance, compliance, complotment, which is upon the Borders of the highest Blasphemy.

Again it is alledged by this Writer, that to *have a Devil*, and to be *mad*, seem to be *Synonyma's* in Scripture, *p.* 35. I answer, *Possession* begot a certain *mavia furor*, and *madness*; and therefore when any were extravagant, the *Jews* said in common Speech, that *they had a Devil*, as we do, *The Devil is in you*, that is, you act unreasonably and madly. But as we do not mean by this *Metaphorical Possession* to exclude the belief of a *real*, so neither did they. Yea, the very Phrase, *he hath a Devil*, or the Devil

is

is in him, applyed to thoſe that act furiouſly and unadviſedly, doth imply that there is ſuch a *real* thing as *Diabolical Poſſeſſion*, to which madneſs and extream folly are reſembled.

See then how the Patrons of Witches argue, The *Jews* ſometimes uſed the *having a Devil* Metaphorically; therefore there are no other *Poſſeſſions*, or therefore all thoſe paſſages of Scripture, in which they are literally and plainly related, intend no other. Indeed, if we argued from meer *words* and *expreſſions* of having Devils, and caſting out Devils, there would be ſomewhat of more colour in our Adverſaries reaſoning. But ſince we inferr chiefly from plain circumſtances of Hiſtory and Fact, there is no force at all in it.

## SECT. X.

### *The Ignorance of the Authour of* The Grand Apoſtaſie, *in his interpreting the word* Δαιμόνιον.

But what doth this Writer mean, when he tells us Δαιμόνιον can ſcarce ſignify any thing elſe properly, but an unuſual af-

fliction from God, ſuch as *madneſs*; when all Men and Boys know that Subſtantively it is the ſame with Δαίμων *Dæmon*, taken already in Scripture in an ill ſenſe for an impure Spirit. Adjectively it ſignifies ſometimes *Divinum quid*, but ſo it is not underſtood in the places we diſpute about, *Luke* 4.35. *When the Devil had thrown him*, the poſſeſſed Man, *in the midſt, he came out of him*, the word is, τὸ Δαιμόνιον. The ſame *v.* 33. is called πνεῦμα δαιμονίε ἀκαθάρτε. By which & the latter circumſtances of the Hiſtory, it plainly appears that τὸ δαιμόνιον, is to be underſtood *Subſtantively* for a *Perſon*, *viz.* an *Evil Spirit*. So in the Story of the Devils entering into the Herd of Swine, *Luke* 8. 33. the word we Tranſlate *Devils* is τὰ δαιμόνια, called *v.* 29. πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, and the ſame *Matth.* 8. 29. Δαίμονες. Beſides the force of which words, I have ſhewn that the Story alſo determines them to a *Subſtantive* and *Perſonal* meaning.

But the Authour ſaith, That Δαιμόνιον can hardly with propriety ſignify any thing elſe but an *extraordinary affliction from God*, becauſe of its derivation from δαίμων, *p.* 37. One would wonder at the confidence of theſe Men, eſpecially in their pretended Criticiſms, by which they would impoſe what ſenſe upon words they pleaſe. Δαίμων it is notoriouſly known ſignifies *Dæmon*, taken

often

often in the ill ſenſe, and ſo particularly in the place newly mentioned, deriving from *δαίω ſcio*, which degenerates here, as in *Saga*, *Witch*, *Wizzard* and the like, and what then ſhould this Authour by this mean?

## SECT. XI.

*Whether there were no feats performed by the* Demoniacks *in the Goſpels, but what* Mad-men *might perform.*

IT is further Objected by this Writer, that there are no Feats Recorded of thoſe ſuppoſed *Demoniacks*, but what *Mad-men* could perform and often do. In which, he conſidered not the Spirits in the *Poſſeſt*, in the Countrey of the *Gergaſens*, *Matth.* 8.29. St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* write *Gadarens*, the Countries lye near together. *Joſephus* reckons *Gadara* among the *Grecian* Cities which *Pompey* took from the *Jews*, and according to him the people were moſtly *Syrians*.

In this Country where our Saviour had not been before, nor after, that we read, two poſſeſt with Devils, who had lived

among the Tombs, out of the Converſation of Mankind met him, and preſently cryed out; *What have we to do with thee, Jeſus, thou Son of God, art thou come to torment us before the time?* Was there nothing now beyond the rate of ordinary Mad-men in this? How did they, who lived in ſuch a diſmal ſolitude among the Tombs, in a place where no Man paſſed, come to know this was Jeſus, who never had been thereabout before, as far as we can hear? Or how came thoſe Mad-men to know, and utter ſuch a great truth, which our Saviour did not preſently publiſh, *That he was the Son of God?* Did any come near to whiſper this in their Ear? or was this a raving fancy only? St. *Mark* writes (who ſpeaks but of a ſingle *Demoniack*) that *when he ſaw Jeſus afar off, he came and worſhipped him.* He knew him preſently, and underſtood his true condition before moſt of the *Jews* about him; and even ſome of his own Diſciples did. Could a meer Mad-man have done ſo? But further they expected torment and from him, in the time to come, though they looked not for it ſo ſoon. Art thou come to torment us before the time? How applicable is this to the condition of Evil Spirits and their expectations?

We have a like acknowledgement of our Saviour from another unclean Spirit,

*Mark*

*Mark* 1. 24. *I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.* And our Saviour in what he ſaith, in anſwer plainly, implies it was the Evil Spirit, not the Mad-man that ſpake, or at leaſt cauſed the confeſſion. *Hold thy peace, and come out of him,* v. 25. And that the *Demoniacks* did things beyond the force of meer Mad-men is further ſufficiently declared in the Hiſtory, *Mark* 5. *No Man could bind him, no not with Chains; becauſe he had been often bound with Fetters and Chains, and the Chains had been pluckt in ſunder by him.* I would fain know, whether this be not beyond the force of meer natural madneſs?

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*Hitherto the Paper was the ſame, and the Hand the ſame, and ſo far of the Copy tranſcribed. Afterward the Hand alters, and is Mr.* Glanvil's *own Hand, but with an* Hiatus *of above half a Sheet of unwrit Paper between, but the Number of the Pages is continued. Something there was to intervene, to make a more full Connexion; but yet what follows, is*

*of the ſame ſuit, and produced to prove out of Scripture the Negotiation of* Evil Spirits *with their* Clients.

## SECT. XII.

*Further proof of the Negotiation of Evil Spirits with their Clients from the Hiſtory of the* Magicians *of* Egypt; *Mr.* Wagſtaffe, *Mr.* Webſter, *and the Authour of* The Doctrine of Devils, *their Evaſions propoſed and anſwered.*

IN the General, they all ſay the ſame thing; *viz.* That the *Magicians* were *Fugglers*, who by their Tricks and Legerdemain, impoſed upon *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians*. Mr. *Wagſtaffe* is ſo modeſt, as not to deſcribe the manner of the performance. But Mr. *Webſter* thus; *The* Magicians *holding a Rod in their hands, and ſeeming to throw it down upon the ground, how ſoon might they throw down an Artificial Serpent in its ſtead, and immediately and unperceivably make conveighance of the Rod*, p. 154. This is his feat; and for the changing Water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, he ſaith, they were

were ſo eaſie to be done after the ſame manner, that they need not any particular explication, *p.* 155. This is the main anſwer, after a great deal of Impertinence, and Mr. *Webſter* hath done his buſineſs.

But the Authour of *The Doctrine of Devils*, hath deviſed a more particular way for this Juggle. *'Tis probable*, he ſaith, *that theſe Men having the Art or Knack of Making, Graving, or Carving the Pictures of Men, Beaſts, Serpents, Reptiles, &c. had the Feat alſo of Colouring, Painting and Futuſſing of them alſo, and ſo might eaſily, eſpecially in the dark, or by their Juggling-Feats, as the Text intimates, make a Rod look like a Serpent*, &c. *p.* 114. But beſides theſe Knaviſh Painters, the Man hath found other Jugglers to help on the Deceit; *Subtle and politick Oratours, who with fallacious Arguments, cunning pretences, and plauſible Rhetorick could ſo diſguiſe Truth, and flouriſh upon Knavery and falſhood, that falſhood ſhould ſeem Truth, and Truth falſhood*, p. 115.

Whatever the *Magicians* of *Pharaoh* were, any one that conſiders theſe Anſwers, would take the Framers of them for Colourers, Changers, Perverters of the Face of things, as this Authour ſpeaks, cunning Oratours, Jugglers, *Hocus-Pocus*, *Hiccius-Doccius*, whip the Serpents, Blood and Frogs are gone. But let us look a little nearer to the buſi-

neſs, and to theſe ſubtle men, Witches of Oratours, and examine what they tell us in the light of the *Text* and impartial *Reaſon.*

The Text ſaith, Aaron *caſt down his Rod before* Pharaoh, *and before his Servants, and it became a Serpent*, v. 10. And v. 11, 12. *The Magicians of* Ægypt, *they alſo did in like manner with their enchantments. For they caſt down every Man his Rod, and they became Serpents, but* Aaron's *Rod ſwallowed up their Rods.* Now, ſay the Witch-Advocates, the *Magicians* were *Jugglers*; they did not in like manner, they did not caſt down their Rods, but made conveighance of them, they were not *Serpents* but *Pictures.* Which are plain contradictions to the Text, arbitrary Figments, that have no ground. And if Men may feign what they will, and put what borrowed ſenſe they pleaſe upon plain Relations of Fact, all Hiſtory will be a Noſe of Wax, and be eaſily ſhaped as the Interpreter has a mind to have it.

Secondly, If this were ſo, and the Serpents were but Artificial Pictures; 'tis ſtrange, that neither *Pharaoh*, nor his Servants ſhould perceive the difference between the *Carved* or *Painted* Serpents and the *real* ones; except they ſuppoſe alſo that *Pharaoh* contrived the buſineſs in a dark Room on purpoſe, as the Authour of *The Doctrine of*

*Devils*

*Devils* ſeems to intimate. And 'tis ſtranger yet, that neither *Moſes* nor *Aaron* that were concerned to detect the Impoſture that was ſo groſs and thick, ſhould not diſcern it, or if they did, 'tis as ſtrange, that they ſhould keep the Jugglers counſel, and ſay nothing of it.

Thirdly, *Aarons* Serpents are ſaid to have ſwallowed up thoſe of the Magicians. What, did they ſwallow the Wiars and Pictures? It ſeems they were very artificially done indeed, that the true Serpents miſtook them for real ones, as the Birds once did the Painted Grapes. But it would be more wonderful yet, if all were but the *Oratory* of the *Magicians*, for then the Serpents ate their Words and Rhetorick.

Fourthly, Moſes *and* Aaron *turned the Rivers into Blood*, v. 20. *and the* Magicians *of* Ægypt *did ſo with their enchantments*, v. 22. *They cauſed Frogs to come up, and to cover the land*, Ch. 8. v. 6. *and the* Magicians *did ſo, and brought up Frogs on the Land of* Ægypt, v. 7. Now, how did the Jugglers do this, with Painting and Fucuſſing; or how, by Legerdemain and Slight of Hand were the Waters made Blood, and the Frogs brought up out of the Rivers on the Land? To turn a little Water into the appearance of Blood, was not the thing that was like to what *Moſes* and *Aaron* did, and to ſhew an Artificial

ficial Frog, Two or Three was not bringing up of Frogs on the Land of *Ægypt*, which implies, multitudes that covered the ground. So that the *Hocus-Pocus* Tricks, and Juggling and Painting will not colour this part of the Story. And I ſhould wonder at Mr. *Webſter*, if he did not afford ſo many occaſions of wondring at him, when he paſſed this ſo ſlightly over, ſaying, p. 155. *As to the changing Water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, they were ſo eaſie to be done after the ſame manner*, viz. by Wiers and Juggling, *that they need not any particular explication, for by this the manner of their performance may moſt eaſily be underſtood.* How ſhall one deal with theſe Men, and what will not their confidence affirm?

Fifthly, 'Tis very ſtrange alſo how thoſe *Jugglers* ſhould know what ſigns *Moſes* and *Aaron* would ſhew, and accordingly furniſh themſelves with counterfeit Serpents, Blood and Frogs againſt the time; or had they thoſe always in their Pockets? If not, it was great luck for them that *Moſes* and *Aaron* ſhould ſhew thoſe very Miracles firſt, that they were provided to imitate.

Sixthly and Laſtly, If the *Magicians* did all this by Tricks and Juggling, may not one fear what Opinion theſe Men have of the

the ſame things done by *Moſes* and *Aaron*: Theſe indeed out-did the others in divers following Inſtances, but may not they ſay, that that was by their having more Cunning and Dexterity in the Art of Juggling? If they or their Proſelytes have a mind to ſay thus, they may by their Principles, which will ſerve them to elude the Hiſtory, in reference to *Moſes* and *Aaron*, as well as it doth in relation to the *Magicians*. They may with as much modeſty turn all into Allegory and Metaphor.

I think by all this it appears, that this ſhift of the Witch-Advocates is very vain, and that what the *Magicians* did, was not mere *Juggling*, much leſs only *Politick Oratory* and *Rhetorick*. As if thoſe *Magicians* by their Eloquence could perſwade *Pharaoh* and his Servants againſt their Senſes, as theſe Patrons of Witches endeavour to do by us, they being the greateſt Witches in their own ſenſe that are extant, and ſome of them are belyed, if they are not ſo in other ſenſes.

SECT.

## SECT. XIII.

### *That what the* Magicians *of* Ægypt *did perform, was at leaſt by an* Implicit *Confederacy with Evil Spirits.*

WEll! If there be any truth in the Hiſtory, the *Magicians* were not only *Couzeners* and *Hocus-Pocus* Men; there was ſomething done that was extraordinary beyond Mans Art and Contrivance, or the effects of ordinary Nature. And therefore muſt have either *God*, or ſome *Spirit* or *Dæmon*, one or more for the Authour. The former no one ſaith, the Hand of God in this was only permiſſive. Therefore it is plain the *Magicians* did this by Spirits, Creatures of the *Inviſible World*. The Text ſaith, by their *enchantments*, *per arcana*, the vulgar Latin reads. Which becauſe it is a general word, Mr. *Wagſtaffe* takes hold of it, and determines it to ſecret and ſly Tricks, thoſe of Legerdemain and Couzenage, when as it is as applicable to any kind of *ſecret* (and ſo to the Diabolical Art and Confederacy) as to his ſenſe. And that it is ſo to be underſtood here, is plain

plain from the matter of the Hiſtory. By thoſe *arcana* (others read, *incantationes, veneficia*) they did thoſe ſtrange things, *viz.* by ſecret Confederacy with Spirits, they obliged them to perform the wonders.

But what did the Spirits do, were the Serpents, Blood and Frogs *real* or *apparent* only? I am not obliged to ſay, who is of one Opinion, and who of another in this, it matters not. The reality of the performance is moſt eaſie, and moſt ſuitable to the Sacred Story, and there is no difficulty in conceiving that Spirits might ſuddenly conveigh Serpents, with which *Ægypt* abounded into the place of the Rods, which they might unperceivably ſnatch away after they were thrown down; This they could do, though the *Magicians* of themſelves could not. And they might be provided for the performances by knowing the Command God had given *Moſes* and *Aaron*, concerning the things he would have them do; which the *Magicians* could not know, at leaſt not but by them.

And for the Blood and the Frogs, they might by Infuſion, or a Thouſand ways that we cannot tell, make the Water to all appearance Bloody, or perhaps really tranſmute ſome (we know not the extent of their powers.) And to bring up the Frogs from the Lakes and Rivers, was no

hard

hard thing for them to effect, though impoſſible for the *Magicians* to do by Tricks of Juggling. We ſee the ſenſe of the Hiſtory is plain, and eaſie in our way, but forced, harſh, contradictious, and moſt abſurd in the Interpretation of the *Hag-Advocates*.

To make the Inference from theſe *Magicians* to my point, yet more plain and demonſtrative, I ſhall further take notice; that if we do not ſuppoſe a confederacy; and formal compact between them and the Spirits they act by, it muſt at leaſt be granted that thoſe *Magicians* had a way to oblige them to act, either by *Words* or *Ceremonies*, which they have bound themſelves to attend in order to further familiarity with the perſons that ſo employ them, and at laſt to *explicit* Compacts: And even this is ſufficient for what I would inferr.

I have thus diſpatcht a great Argument briefly, and yet I hope fully; Mr. *Webſter* is after his manner very voluminous about it. But all he hath ſaid in Five or Six Leaves in Folio to the purpoſe, is in thoſe few Lines I have recited. All the reſt is ſenſleſs, rambling Impertinence, amuſing his Readers with *Actives* and *Paſſives*, *Mecaſſaphims*, *Hartummims*, *Taleſmans*, wonderful *Cures*, and the vertues of *Plants*, telling

Stories,

Stories, and citing ſcraps from this Man, and from that, all which ſerve only for Oſtentation, and the Deception of the injudicious, but ſignify nothing to any purpoſe of Reaſoning.

## SECT. XIV.

*The other grand Inſtance of Confederacy with Evil Spirits, in the Witch of* Endor, *whom* Saul *conſulted.* A brief and plain Narration of the Story.

I Come to another grand Inſtance, *viz.* that of the Witch of *Endor*. The Story of her is related, 1 *Sam.* 28. and is briefly thus. *Samuel* was dead, *v.* 3. and the *Philiſtines* gathered themſelves againſt *Saul*, and pitcht in *Gilboa*, v. 4. *Saul* on this was much afraid, *v.* 5. and enquired of the Lord, but had no anſwer from him, *v.* 6. Upon this he bid his Servants find him out a Woman that had a Familiar Spirit, that he might enquire of her. They told him of one at *Endor*, *v.* 7. He diſguiſed himſelf, and with two Men by night went to her, deſired her to divine unto him by her *Familiar Spirit*, and to bring up him whom he

he ſhould name, *v.* 8. The Woman firſt excuſed her ſelf, minding him how dangerous ſuch a buſineſs might be to her, ſince *Saul* had cut off thoſe that had *Familiar Spirits*, and the *Wizzards* out of the Land. So that ſhe was afraid that this Propoſition of his was a ſnare for her Life, *v.* 9. But *Saul* aſſured her by ſwearing, that no harm ſhould come to her for this thing, *v.* 10.

She then askt him whom ſhe ſhould bring up, and he ſaid Bring me up *Samuel*, *v.* 11. *Samuel* accordingly begins to appear, and when the Woman ſaw him, ſhe cried with a loud voice, being much ſurpriſed, it ſeems, to ſee *Samuel* in good earneſt, whom ſhe probably expected not; but ſome Familiar in his likeneſs. By this ſhe knew *Saul*, *v.* 12. He heartens her again, and asks whom ſhe ſaw. She anſwers, ſhe ſaw *Gods* Aſcending out of the Earth, an uſual Hebraiſm, the Plural for the Singular Number, *Gods*, to wit, a *Spirit*, *v.* 13. *Saul* asks what Forme he was of, ſhe anſwered, *an Old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle.* Then *Saul* perceived it was *Samuel*, and he bowed himſelf to him to the ground, *v.* 14.

*Samuel* ask't why he had diſquieted him to bring him up? He declares the diſtreſs he was in, and his deſire to know what

he

he was to do, *v.* 15. *Samuel* reproves him, and declares his Fate, *viz.* That the Lord had rent the Kingdome from him, and given it to *David*, *v.* 17. That the *Iſraelites* ſhould be delivered into the hands of the *Philiſtins*, and that *Saul* and his Sons ſhould to morrow be with him, *viz.* in the ſtate of the Dead, as eventually it was, *v.* 19. This is the Hiſtory, and one would think it ſpeaks very plainly, but nothing is plain to prejudice. The Patrons of *Witches* labour hard to avoid this evidence, and I ſhall propoſe and conſider their ſhifts and ſlights of anſwering.

## SECT. XV.

### *The Evaſion of Mr.* Reginald Scot, *concerning the Witches Cloſet, propoſed and confuted.*

MR. *Reginald Scot*, the father of the modern Witch-Advocates, orders the matter thus. When *Saul*, ſaith he, had told her that he would have *Samuel* brought up to him, ſhe departed from his preſence into her Cloſet, where doubtleſs ſhe had her Familiar, to wit, ſome lewd crafty

Prieſt, and made *Saul* ſtand at the door like a Fool (as it were with his Finger in a hole) to hear the Couzening Anſwers, but not to ſee the Couzening handling thereof, and the conterfeiting of the matter. And ſo goeth ſhe to work, uſing ordinary words of Conjuration, &c. So belike after many ſuch words ſpoken, ſhe ſaith to her ſelf; Lo! now the matter is brought to paſs. I ſee wonderful things. So as *Saul* hearing theſe words longed to know all, and asked her what ſhe ſaw. Whereby you know that *Saul* ſaw nothing, but ſtood without like a Mome, whileſt ſhe plaid her part in her Cloſet, as may moſt evidently appear by the Twenty firſt Verſe of this Chapter, where it is ſaid, Then the Woman came out to *Saul*, &c. *Scot*, p. 108.

Now this is not interpreting a Story, but making one. For we read nothing of her *Cloſet*, or her going from *Saul* into it, nothing of the *crafty Prieſt* ſhe had there, or of *Sauls* ſtanding at the door like a Fool, like a drowned Puppy Mr. *Webſter* has it (very reſpectful Language for a Prince in diſtreſs!) nothing of the words of *Conjuration*, or of the Womans talk to her ſelf, but all this is Whimſey and Fiction.

And according to this way of interpreting, a Man may make what he will of all

the

the Hiſtories in the Bible, yea in the World. If one may ſupply, and put in what he pleaſeth, any thing may be made any thing.

But Mr. *Scot* ſaith, it *evidently* appears that *Saul* ſaw nothing, but ſtayed without like a Mome, whileſt ſhe played her part in her Cloſet. It *evidently* appears by the Twenty firſt Verſe of this Chapter, where 'tis ſaid, *Then the Woman came out unto* Saul. *Is it not evident from hence, that ſhe had a Cloſet, how elſe ſhould ſhe come out?* But the miſchief of it is, there is nothing of coming out in the Text, or any Verſion of it. Our Tranſlation is, *And the Woman came unto* Saul. The vulgar Latine, *Ingreſſa eſt*, ſhe came *in*, which implies that ſhe went *out of doors* rather, than into her Cloſet. The *Septuagint* read εἰσῆλθεν ἡ γυνὴ, being the ſame ſenſe with the vulgar Latine. The Chaldee Paraphraſe ſimply *ſhe came*. So the Syriack and the Arabick: But we find nothing of coming out any where but in the *Diſcoverer*. So that here is a Text made too, as well as many a groundleſs Comment.

But whether ſhe only came to *Saul*, or *in* or *out* to him, it matters not much, for it implies only that ſhe withdrew, while *Saul* Communed with *Samuel*, out of re-

ſpect, and after the Communication, ſhe returned and found the King in great diſorder, and what is this to a Cloſet?

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## SECT. XVI.

### *Two of Mr.* Webſters *Arguments for the Witches Cloſet propoſed and anſwered.*

BUt Mr. *Webſter* purſues the buſineſs in the behalf of the *Diſcoverer*; Firſt, If they were in the ſame Room, and *Samuel* a viſible Object, how comes it to paſs that *Saul* ſaw him not? Mr. *Glanvil*, ſaith he, *muſt pump to find it out*, p. 169. But doth not Mr. *Webſter* know, that it is uſual in *Apparitions* (and he owns there are ſuch) for the Spirit to appear to one, when it is not viſible to another, though in the ſame Room, and every ways capable of ſeeing? In the Famous Story of *Walker* and *Sharp* recited by him, *p.* 299, 300. which he confeſſeth to be of undoubted verity, he ſaith it was reported that the Apparition did appear in Court to the Judge, or Fore-man of the Jury (and I have from other hand very credible atteſtation that it was ſo)

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but the reſt ſaw nothing. Many other well atteſted Relations of this kind ſpeak of the like, and there are Innumerable Stories of people that have their ſecond ſight as they call it, to wit, a faculty of ſeeing Spectres when others cannot diſcern them. In which there is nothing, either impoſſible, or unlikely. And why then ſhould there be need of ſo much *pumping* to anſwer this Objection?

*Samuel* it ſeems appeared to the Woman a little before *Saul* ſaw him, ſhewing himſelf ſo, it may be, to prepare *Saul* for the terrible ſight by degrees, leſt the ſuddenneſs of it might have affrighted him into an incapacity of hearing what he had to ſay to him. Or it may be the Body of the Woman, or ſome other thing in the Room might interpoſe between *Saul*, and the firſt appearance of *Samuel*, or he might be at an unfit diſtance, or out of due light to ſee preſently as ſhe did. So that there is no need of ſuppoſing them to be in two Rooms on this account.

But Secondly, He argues further for the Cloſet or another Room; The Woman cryed out with a loud Voice when ſhe ſaw *Samuel*; What need of that, ſaith he, if they were in one Room, might not an ordinary tone make him to have heard her? 'Tis like it might, but that was not the

cauſe of her crying out, but her ſurpriſe to ſee *Samuel* (if it were the real *Samuel*) when ſhe expected only her *Familiar*, appearing in ſome reſemblance of him. And 'tis like there were circumſtances in this Apparition, which ſhe had never ſeen before, that might on the ſudden affright and amaze her. And if it were *Samuel* indeed, which is very probable, the ſight of him aſſured her that the Inquirer was *Saul*. For though ſhe might not conclude it preſently from his requiring her to raiſe *Samuel*, yet when he really and unexpectedly appeared, it was plain that he was come upon ſome great Errand, and with whom could he probably have ſuch buſineſs as with *Saul*? So that ſhe ſeeing him, the importance of his appearance, and the Relation he had to *Saul*, brought the King preſently to her mind, and with him her fears, and that this was one cauſe of her crying out, is plainly intimated in the next words. *And the Woman ſpake to* Saul, *ſaying, Why haſt thou deceived me, for thou art* Saul, *v.* 12. And that ſhe was affrighted at that knowledge, is implied in *Sauls* aſſuring her again, againſt her fears in his immediate anſwer. *And the King ſaid unto her, Be not afraid,* v. 13.

Beſides this, there is another thing that may be collected from the Text, which might

might occaſion her aſtoniſhment and crying out. For as ſoon as *Saul* had ſaid, *Bring me up* Samuel, *v.* 11. it immediately follows, *v.* 12. *And when the Woman ſaw* Samuel, *ſhe cryed with a loud voice.* It ſeems he appeared before ſhe had performed her uſual Conjurations (ſo little ground is there for what Mr. *Scot* talks of her words of Conjuration, and thoſe ſhe ſpake to her ſelf) and upon that ſhe was ſurpriſed and affrighted.

## SECT. XVII.

### *Other Arguments of Mr.* Webſter *for a Room diſtinct from that* Saul *was in, propoſed and anſwered.*

MR. *Webſters* third Argument to prove a Cloſet, is that it had been incongruous for *Saul* to have askt what ſaweſt thou, if they had been in one Room. But what is the incongruity, or what the wonder, if one in his condition ſhould ſpeak incongruouſly?

His Fourth and Fifth Arguments, are to prove that *Saul* had yet ſeen nothing, when he askt the Woman upon her Out-cry,

what ſhe had ſeen. They prove that ſhe ſaw the *Apparition* firſt, which is granted, but her being in another Room, cannot thence be inferred, as I have ſhewn, though that be the thing he ſhould make out, or all is impertinent.

The Sixth Argument is; that after all, *Samuel* was but coming up. *An Old Man cometh up*, which proves nothing for Mr. *Webſter* but againſt him; For now, ſhe ſhews him to *Saul*. She ſaw the firſt beginning of his appearing, which *Saul* did not. When he was riſen higher out of the Earth, ſhe ſhews him to the King, who, 'tis ſaid, *perceived* then it was *Samuel*, and bowed himſelf, *v.* 14. which is very eaſie and congruous, applied to one and the ſame Room. And what then makes Mr. *Webſter* Inſult in the Concluſion of this Argument in theſe words; *Now let Mr.* Glanvil *conſider, and anſwer whether it be not only intimated, but clearly holden forth in the Text, that either they were in two Rooms; or that nothing viſible did appear before* Saul, *p.* 171. His ſeeing nothing at firſt I grant, but the Two Rooms there is no ground for, and he doth not prove it. Whether he did not ſee *Samuel* after, I ſhall now inquire. Hitherto I have nothing to do, but with the conceit of the Cloſet, or the other Room, which

which Mr. *Scot* made for the Woman, and Mr. *Webſter* endeavours to uphold, with much good will, but little ſucceſs.

## SECT. XVIII.

*Convincing Argmuments brought to prove that* Saul *ſaw* Samuel, *which fruſtrates the Figment of two Rooms.*

AFter all, if he really ſaw the Apparition, the Figment of the two Rooms is gone, or at leaſt ſignifies nothing to their purpoſe. This the Text intimates plainly. She ſaid, *An Old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle*, and it follows, *And* Saul *perceived that it was* Samuel, *and he ſtooped with his face to the ground, and bowed himſelf*, v. 14.

He *perceived* it was *Samuel*, he perceived it, ſaith Mr. *Webſter*, by the Deſcription of the Woman. But ſhe had only ſaid, *An Old Man cometh up covered with a Mantle*; This is but a very General Deſcription, and why muſt that needs notify *Samuel*? Could the Devil repreſent no other Old Man in a Mantle, or could none of the dead

dead appear ſo but *Samuel* only? By theſe words alone *Saul* could not certainly *perceive* that it was he. But he *perceived* this ſo, that he could not but know and acknowledge it as the Hebrew word ſeems to imply. I ſay this word [perceived] implies more than bare ſeeing. 'Tis that and ſomewhat elſe, *viz.* that he ſaw him ſo, as to be convinced that it was he indeed, the judgment was added to the ſenſe. So that Mr. *Webſter*'s Objection, that the word was not he [ſaw] it was *Samuel*, is of no weight, he [perceived] implies that he ſaw it ſo as to be aſſured. If the ſaying of the Woman had been all, the aſſurance had been none at all, and *Saul* could not have *perceived* or underſtood any certainty of the thing from it.

But ſecondly, it appears yet further, that his *perceiving* did imply *ſeeing*; For he ſtooped with his Face to the ground, and bowed himſelf. Now, what did *Saul* make this reſpectful reverence to, if he ſaw nothing? Was it to a *Samuel* in his fancy? Mr. *Webſter* ſaith, *Surely in rational conſequence it could be nothing elſe*, p. 171. This is ſomething an unuſual courteſie to bare *Idea*'s and *Imaginations*. But Mr. *Webſter* gives a reaſon: *All that the Woman had done and ſaid, being undeniably lyes and cheats, this alſo*

*alſo in juſt and right reaſon muſt be judged to be ſo alſo.* Which is aſſuming the thing to be proved.

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## SECT. XIX.

*That it was a* real *Apparition, not a confederate* Knave, *as Mr.* Webſter *fancies, that* Saul *ſaw and did obeyſance to.*

BUt did ſhe not turn out her *confederate Knave* to act the part of *Samuel*? and was not this he to whom *Saul* bowed? This Mr. *Webſter* offers as part of his anſwer. The Woman v. 14. deſcribes *Samuel* in the form of an Old Man covered with a Mantle. Such a ſhape ſhe muſt have put the confederate Knave into. It may be it was an Old fellow, or ſhe made him look Old, but let that paſs. But where got ſhe the Mantle? A *Sacerdotal Habiliment* it was, according to *Joſephus*. Had the Woman a Wardrobe of all Habits for all purpoſes? or was it ſome ſhort Cloak of her own, that ſhe threw on him? We will ſuppoſe either that will ſerve Mr. *Webſters* turn beſt. But how did the fellow himſelf, or the Old

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Quean for him change his Viſage into the likeneſs of *Samuel*, or how alter his voice ſo, as to make *Saul*, who ſo well knew *Samuel*, to believe it was even he? Theſe are hard Queſtions.

But if we ſhould ſo far gratify Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Webſter* and the reſt, as not to preſs with ſuch untoward Queries; yet one cannot chuſe but ask how the *confederate Knave* came to foretel truly ſuch contingent things, as that the *Iſraelites* ſhould be vanquiſhed by the *Philiſtines*, and *Saul* and his Sons ſlain on the morrow, as *v.* 19. How could the *Cheat*, or the *Woman* in another Room tell this? Why! ſaith Mr. *Wagſtaffe*, he ſpake it at a venture, and He or the Witch gave a ſhrewd gueſs to the ſequel, ſaith Mr. *Scot*. But what ground was there for conjecture? and ſince there was none, the Confederate might as well have choſe to have told *Saul*, that he and his Sons ſhould live and be victorious; and this, if he were ſo cunning a fellow, as theſe cunning Men make him, he would have done. For the Witches buſineſs and his, was to get by their practice, and the likelier way to a good reward, had been to have Propheſied grateful and pleaſant things to the troubled King; and if the Propheſier knew nothing of the event, he might as well have choſen the good, as the evil ſide.

Which

Which as it had been for his Intereſt, it had been alſo for the better ſaving of the credit of his predictions. For if he had foretold the Kings good ſucceſs and victory, the Woman and He, the Confederate, in conſequence had been ſure of reputation and favour, and further rewards, if it had happened ſo; but no evil could have befaln them from the contrary ſucceſs. For if *Saul* were killed, the falſhood of the prediction would be buried with him (for we read not that the two Servants were at this Communication, which in all likelihood was private) and no other evil like to enſue.

So that if it were a *Confederate Knave*, as the Witch-Advocates have contrived that made the anſwers, he was not ſo cunning as Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Webſter* and the reſt pretend, but indeed a very *ſilly Juggler*. He ſpeaks very ſevere and diſobliging things, and ſuch as were not like to redound to his advantage, and indeed ſuch things they were, as do not at all look as if they proceeded from a confederate Couzener. They have that Gravity, Majeſty, Religion and Vertue in them that became the true *Samuel*, and are very unlike the words of a vicious cheating Knave.

To which may be added, that this Woman, though otherwiſe an ill one, ſeems

to

to have been of a kind and benign nature; by the courteous entertainment she gave the afflicted Prince, and *Josephus* extolls her much for her good Nature. So that it is very improbable, that she would by her self or her Confederate, lay such an heavy Load of Trouble and Desperation upon the King, that was in such distress before. I think all these things put together, are abundantly sufficient to disprove, and shame the ungrounded fansie of the Witch-Advocates, that all was done by a Confederate. And consequently it was a *real* Apparition that *Saul* saw, and did civil obeysance to.

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## SECT. XX.

*That it was not the Witch her self that acted all* (as *Scot* and *Webster* for another shift would suppose) *putting her self into a Trance, and deluding* Saul *by Ventriloquy.*

BUt was it not the Witch her self that acted all? Mr. *Scot* saith, that if the Exposition of the *Confederate* like us not, he can easily frame himself to the Opinion,

on, That this *Pythoneſs* being a *Ventriloque*, that is, ſpeaking as it were from the bottom of her Belly, did caſt her ſelf into a Trance, and ſo abuſed *Saul*, anſwering to *Saul* in *Samuel*'s name in her counterfeit hollow Voice, *p.* 111. To the ſame purpoſe Mr. *Webſter* alſo ſuppoſeth, *That what ſhe did or pretended to do, was only by Ventriloquy, or caſting her ſelf into a feigned Trance, lay groveling on the Earth with her face downwards, and ſo changing her Voice, did mutter and murmur, and peep, and chirp like a Bird coming forth of the ſhell, or that ſhe ſpake in ſome hollow Cave or Vault through ſome Pipe, or in a Bottle, and ſo amuſed and deceived poor timorous and deſpairing* Saul, p. 165, 166.

What ſtuff is this? and how ſhall one deal with ſuch Men, as ſet their Wits upon the rack to invent evaſions, and are ready to aſſert any Non-ſenſe or Abſurdity to pervert the ſenſe of a plain and ſimple Hiſtory? What I have already ſpoke againſt the Dream of a *Confederate*, viz. *Saul*'s *perceiving* it was *Samuel*, his *bowing himſelf* upon it; his taking the Voice for the Prophet's, the ſuitableneſs and gravity of the words, and the contrivance of the prediction, and the truth of it, are as ſtrong againſt this *Whim*, as againſt the other *idle fanſie*, and in ſome particulars of more force,

as

as will appear to any one that conſiders the matter duly.

For *Ventriloquy*, or ſpeaking from the bottom of the Belly, 'tis a thing I think as ſtrange and difficult to be conceived as any thing in Witchcraft, nor can it, I believe, be performed in any diſtinctneſs of articulate ſounds, without ſuch aſſiſtance of the Spirits, that ſpoke out of the *Dæmoniacks*. I would fain have any of the Witch-Advocates ſhew how it is naturally poſſible. So that this that they ſuppoſe, will infer the thing they would avoid. It cannot certainly in any reaſon be thought, that the Woman could by a natural knack, ſpeak ſuch a Diſcourſe as is related from *Samuel*, much leſs that ſhe could from her Belly imitate his Voice, ſo as to deceive one that knew him as *Saul* did.

As for Mr. *Webſters peeping*, *chirping* and *muttering*, they are nothing to the purpoſe, and his hollow *Cave*, *Pipe* and *Vault*, are as arbitrary Figments as the *Cloſet*, and fall under the ſame confutations that diſprove the reſt of the Chimæra's.

SECT.

## SECT. XXI.

### *That it was* Samuel *himself that appeared, not the* Devil, *nor a* Confederate Knave.

BUt the Witch-Advocates have another Argument to prove an Impoſture in this buſineſs. For, ſay they, the perſon denouncing the fate of *Saul* could not be the true *Samuel*, nor the *Devil* in his likeneſs; therefore it muſt be either the *Woman*, or ſome cheating *Confederate*. Which concluſion follows not, for it is poſſible it might be a *good* Spirit perſonating *Samuel*. Theſe the Scripture aſſures us, are often imployed in Errands and Miniſteries here below, and on thoſe occaſions they cloath themſelves in humane ſhape and appearance. So that it is not abſurd to think it might be thus here; but this I affirm not. Who actually it was hath been great matter of debate among Interpreters, and conſiderable Authours have been on either ſide. My cauſe doth not require that I ſhould poſitively determine who the appearing

perſon was, it might be one of them though I cannot tell which.

I confeſs it ſeems to me moſt probable, that it was the true *Samuel*, for the Scripture calls the Apparition ſo Five times, that is, as often as he is mentioned. And when the Woman ſaw *Samuel*, v. 12. And *Saul* perceived that it was *Samuel*, v. 14. And *Samuel* ſaid to *Saul*, v. 15. Then ſaid *Samuel*, v. 16. Then *Saul* was ſore afraid becauſe of the words of *Samuel*, v. 20. Which expreſſions are neither from *Saul*, nor the Woman, but from that Spirit that endited the Holy Scriptures. And if after all this, *Samuel* was a *Knave*, or the *Witch*, or the *Devil*, what aſſurance can we have in interpreting of Scripture? I know that it ſpeaks ſometimes agreeably to the deceived apprehenſions of Men; but when it is ſo, there is ſomething in the Context or Nature of the thing that leads us to make this Judgment. And if we raſhly ſuppoſe whenever we have a mind to it, that the Scripture ſpeaks according to deceived Opinion; we may by this Rule make it ſay any thing. The plain Letter, and moſt obvious Senſe is always to be followed, where there is no cogent reaſon to the contrary, and I ſhall ſhew by and by, that there is none to decline it here.

Accor-

According to the obvious plain ſenſe, the words are interpreted, *Eccleſiaſtick.* 46. 20. *And after his death* (ſpeaking of *Samuel*) *he Propheſied and ſhewed the King his end.* And the circumſtances of the Story which I have already conſidered, ſeem to me very plainly to determine the ſenſe this way. Thus doth the ſurpriſe of the Woman, who cryed out with aſtoniſhment upon the ſight of the Prophet, whom ſhe was affrighted to ſee. Her knowing it was *Saul* by the Apparition, which ſhe could not have done by the *Devil*'s appearing in his likeneſs. The Expreſſion that *Saul perceived* that it was *Samuel*, he did not only fanſie or think ſo. The Divine and Majeſtick words he ſpake, ſo becoming the true *Samuel*, and ſo unlike the words of an Evil Spirit. And the prediction of events ſo contingent as the loſs of the Battle, and the Death of the King and his Sons.

## SECT. XXII.

### *The needleſneſs and impertinency of M.* Webſters *Confutation of* Samuel's *appearing with his Body out of the Grave.*

NOw there are ſeveral evaſions, whereby ſome endeavour to ſhift off this evidence. But if we will deal plainly and ſincerely, we muſt, I think, acknowledge the force of the Arguments, which I have briefly and nakedly propoſed.

But all this Mr. *Webſter* pretends to confute thus. It was not *Samuel*'s *Body* with his Soul joyned, nor his *Soul* that appeared in his wonted ſhape and habit, *p.* 172, 173.

The firſt he proves by theſe reaſons. Firſt, His Body had lain too long in the Grave, ſo that it muſt have been disfigured. Secondly, It muſt have ſtunk. Thirdly, There was no Taylor in the Grave to make him a Mantle. Fourthly, It muſt have been an Omnipotent Power to have done this. Fifthly, A Syllogiſm is brought to prove this contrary to the Scripture, which ſaith,

That

That *thoſe that dye in the Lord reſt from their labours.*

Now the Four firſt Arguments he may take again, we have no concern with them. For 'tis ſenſleſs to think, that the groſs Body came out of the Grave; and if he means the reſting of the *Terreſtrial* Body by the Fifth, he may take that back too. And indeed as applyed to the Body without the Soul, the diſturbing of it is Non-ſenſe. Its corruption in the Grave is continual motion, and more diſturbance than the raiſing it entirely would be, if it were any at all. But properly it is none, no more than is the taking of a Stone out of a Quarry. Therefore if there be any Argument in this, it falls under the next Query.

The Sixth Argument is a Queſtion, *viz.* Who joyned the Soul and Body again? Not the *Witch* nor the *Devil.* The Opinion is erroneous, impious and blaſphemous. And for me let him call it what he pleaſeth. His ſtrength is in hard words, which here like the ſtones thrown ſometimes by Witchcraft light like Wool, and here Far alſo from the Mark.

## SECT. XXIII.

*That it was the* Soul *of* Samuel *that appeared, without his* Terreſtrial Body, *and that it is an indifferent Opinion, in which are divided as well Papiſts as Proteſtants.*

BUt there is a ſecond Opinion yet to be confuted, *viz.* That it was *Samuel's* Soul in his wonted ſhape and habit, *p.* 173. He muſt mean his *Soul* without the *Body*, or elſe 'tis the ſame again; and if he means without any body, I am none of thoſe that mean with him. It is moſt fully and plainly proved by thoſe excellent Men, Dr. *C*— and Dr. *M*—, that Souls departed are embodyed in Aerial or Ætherial Vehicles; and they have largely ſhewn that this was the Doctrine of the greateſt Philoſophers, and moſt Ancient and Learned Fathers. And agreeable it is to the Holy Scripture and higheſt Reaſon and Philoſophy, as I may have another occaſion to ſhew. Now *Samuel* appeared here to *Saul* in this his more pure *Aerial* or *Ætherial* Body, which he could form into ſuch an

appearance

appearance and habit as he had in the *Terreſtrial.*

Againſt the Opinion of *Samuel*'s Soul appearing, Mr. *Webſter* urgeth cogent Arguments, as ſtill he calleth his; they are all *manifeſt*, *cogent*, *irrefragable*, *unanſwerable*, even then when they are ſcarce ſenſe. He prefaceth to them, by an intimation, that the Doctrine is Popiſh; maintained, he ſaith, it is by the Popiſh party. His hard words uſe to be his ſtrongeſt Arguments. But this is only to raiſe *odium* and prejudice to the opinion. For there are *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* on both ſides of this Queſtion. As alſo Rabbins and Fathers have divided upon it. Some of the laſt ſort, and thoſe perhaps of the greateſt and moſt conſiderable having been for it, as R. *Eleazer*, R. *Saadias*, The Writers of the *Midraſh*, *Joſephus* alſo, *Juſtin*, *Origen*, *Auguſtine*, *Baſil*, *Ambroſe*, &c. as ſome others have been againſt it. So that, I ſuppoſe, a Man may freely and without offence declare his Judgment, though it happen to be different from Mr. *Webſters*.

## SECT. XXIV.

### *Three Arguments of Mr.* Webſter *againſt the appearing of the* Soul *of* Samuel *propoſed and anſwered.*

WHerefore to his Arguments, Firſt he could not, ſaith he, come whether God would or no. Right! Secondly, He would not run on an Errand without Gods conſent. No doubt. Thirdly, That God did not command him, he ſaith, is moſt certain. Here I muſt ſtop. How doth that appear to be ſo certain? Why! they never were employed in Miniſtries here below, becauſe never created for any ſuch end or purpoſe, *p.* 173. They were never employed in Miniſtries here below! What thinks he of the Souls of *Moſes* and *Elias*, at the transfiguration on the Mount? were not they then employed in a Miniſtry here below, or were they only Phantaſms? or their glorifyed Bodies without their Souls? and how then did they talk and converſe with our Lord? But theſe he will ſay were ſent on an extraordinary occaſion.

occaſion. Be it ſo, they are ſometimes then employed in ſuch, and ſo Mr. *Webſter* muſt eat his words. And if bleſſed Souls are, or have been employed at any time, how is he ſo certain the real *Samuel* was not ſent here?

Thus briefly to his bold Aſſertion. But he pretends a reaſon. *They were never created for this purpoſe.* If that were ſo, what then? The Stars were never made to fight againſt *Siſera*, nor any one. Nor the waters to drown the World. Nor the Ravens to feed Prophets or other Men. May not they therefore be uſed in thoſe Services? Again, No *ſenſitive* Being was made primarily for another, but to enjoy it ſelf, and to partake of the goodneſs of its Maker. May it not therefore miniſter to others? and doth not every Creature ſo? All things ſerve him. Thirdly, The Angels are Miniſtring Spirits, he ſaith, ordained to be ſuch. Doth he think they were made for that purpoſe only to ſerve us? Fourthly, Reaſonable humane Creatures are for one another. *Non nobis ſolùm*, &c. *Souls* are moſt proper to ſerve ſuch, not here only, but in the next World. They are ἰσάγγελοι, *like unto Angels*, and they are as proper at leaſt for the ſervice of Men. They have the ſame nature and affections. They feel our infirmities, and conſider us more than

abſtract

abſtract Spirits do. Which is the reaſon given why our Saviour took not upon him the nature of *Angels*, but of *Men*. Fifthly, Souls departed have Life and Senſe and Motion, capacity of being employed, and no doubt inclination to it; and whither more properly may they be ſent, than to thoſe of their own nature, whom they affect, are allied to, and ſo lately came from? Sixthly, The Angels are not confined to their celeſtial habitation, but are ſent often to this nether World, as Mr. *Webſter* and the reſt confeſs, and why then ſhould we think that the Souls of the Juſt are ſo limited and reſtrained?

And Laſtly, It is ſuppoſed both by Jews and Chriſtians, that the *Soul* of the *Meſſias* appeared to the Patriarchs, and was the Angel of the Covenant; and we know he was pleaſed to appear to St. *Stephen* at his Martyrdom, though then in Glory. And in the various Apparitions of Angels recorded in the Scripture, we have reaſon to think that ſome were humane Souls, called Angels from their Office.

So that on the whole, we ſee we have no cauſe to rely on Mr. *Webſters* certainty, that *Samuel*'s Soul came not on a Divine Command.

SECT.

## SECT. XXV.

### *Other Arguments of Mr.* Webſter *againſt the appearing of the Soul of* Samuel, *propoſed and anſwered.*

BUt Mr. *Webſter* goes on: Fourthly, ſaith he, Mr. *Glanvil* hath only affirmed, not proved it. Which is not ſo, I alledge the ſame reaſons I have mentioned here, in my *Philoſophical Conſiderations about Witchcraft*, Sect. 16. And the frequent affirmations of the Sacred Text, were ſufficient ground for the Aſſertion, though no other reaſons were added to them.

He argues, Fifthly, Miracles are wrought to confirm truth, but this would have confirmed *Saul* and the Witch in their wicked ways, *p.* 174. I anſwer, Miracles are not always wrought to confirm truth, but ſometimes to declare it. And theſe ſort are often for that purpoſe. Such was this, to pronounce the final Sentence and Doom on *Saul*, as to the concerns of this World. And the Prophet's appearing ſo contrary to the Womans expectation, and before ſhe had

had performed her ſpells, ſtruck her into dread and amazement, and ſo ſhe could draw no incouragement thence, to countenance her trade of Witchcraft.

Sixthly, He ſaith it is not credible, but that *Samuel* would have reproved the Sorcereſs. But that was not his buſineſs, and it is like ſhe being one of that vile and Diabolical profeſſion was forſaken of God and good Spirits, and given up to thoſe evil ones that were her Agents and Familiars. Such derelictions we ſometimes read of. And certainly if any courſe of ſinning occaſions and brings ſuch a judgment (as ſome no doubt do) this of Witchcraft and Confederacy with evil Spirits, is one that moſt juſtly may.

Seventhly, But God had refuſed to anſwer *Saul* by any living Prophet, and Eighthly would not vouchſafe him his Spirit in the ordinary way, and therefore it is not probable he would do it by ſending a Prophet from the dead. Which arguings can only diſcover our ignorance in the Reaſons of the Divine Counſels and Actions. But yet it may be ſaid, God had indeed withdrawn all comfortable and directive Communications from him, but this was of another ſort, a further inſtance of the Divine Diſpleaſure, and Declarative of the forſaken Kings Doom. Which was

no

no favour, but indeed a judgment to which the Divine Juſtice was probably further provoked by this his ſin of dealing with the Sorcereſs.

But Ninthly, *Abraham* would not ſend *Lazarus* upon the Rich Mans deſire to his ſurviving Brethren, *p.* 175. Nor can any one think it follows that, becauſe one came from the dead to an extraordinary perſon, and upon an occaſion that was ſuch; that therefore Prophets, or other Souls ſhall be ſent from thence, ordinarily to warn thoſe that have other ſufficient means of conviction and amendment. The Tenth is to fill up tale. Where doth Mr. *Glanvil*, ſaith he, find it in Scripture, or Orthodoxal Divines, that ever any Bleſſed Soul was ſent on a Divine Errand to any here below? Which he objected, and I anſwered before.

SECT.

## SECT. XXVI.

### *That the Soul of* Samuel *might come of it ſelf, as well as be ſent by Divine Command, either Opinion defenſible.*

I Have briefly recited, and I hope cleared Mr. *Webſter*'s Objections, which he runs out into great length and numerous impertinencies. And indeed his Arguments are often ſuch confident Nothings, that it is really a ſhame to go about to anſwer them. But I ſhall never paſs by any thing of his ſtrength.

But though I have defended the Opinion, that *Samuel*'s Soul was ſent on a Divine Errand to *Saul*, againſt Mr. *Webſters* contrary pretences; yet is there another thing ſuppoſable, which is as probable, *viz.* That *Samuel* came without any direct command, being barely permitted, and that the earneſt and importunate deſire of *Saul* to have ſome Communication with him in his diſtreſs, invited and inclined him to it. Thus it might be, and there is no cauſe to think, but that bleſſed Souls have ſometimes

times ſuch liberty allowed them; which of theſe it was, I ſhall not preſume to determine, both are defenſible, and either ſufficient for my purpoſe.

## SECT. XXVII.

### *Several other Objections againſt the appearing of the Soul of* Samuel *anſwered.*

BUt there are other Objections beſides Mr. *Webſters*, againſt the Tenent that it was the Soul of *Samuel*; I ſhall not conceal any one that hath any force in it.

Firſt it is urged, That *Witches* and *Magicians* have no power over the Spirits of the Juſt, and therefore this *Pythoneſs* could not raiſe *Samuel*. Nor do we ſay ſhe did. He appeared (as 'tis probable from the Text) before ſhe had made her Conjurations. Which might be one reaſon of her crying out. He came either ſent from God, or of his own inclination. The *Devil* nor *Witch* had nothing to do in it.

But Secondly, would God ſend *Samuel* at ſuch a time, when he was ſeeking ſatisfaction from enchantment? And why not

not as well that, as appoint the Prophet to meet the Messengers of *Ahaziah* when he sent to *Beelzebub*, 2 *Kings* 1? That King sent to the Idol of *Ekron* to inquire his Fate, and God acquainted him with it by his Prophet *Elijah*. Thus also when *Balak* had required *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*, God put a Prophecy into his Mouth, and made him bless them, *Numb*. 22. &c.

Thirdly, The Woman said, she saw Gods arising, a company of evil Spirits (so some interpret) and what did *Samuel* among them? But I saw *Gods* is more probably rendered by others a *God*, a Divine Personage, the plural Number for the singular to express honour. And that it is so to be understood is signified plainly by the singular Relative that follows; *Of what form is he*, v. 14. Or if more be meant, why might they not be good *Genii* that accompanied *Samuel*, a great and Divine Personage, eminent no doubt in the other World as he was in this?

Fourthly, some argue from the Question of the Apparition, *v*. 15. *Why hast thou disquieted me? Samuel*, say they, whether sent by God, or coming of his own accord, could not be disquieted by appearing. Nor was there any real disturbance in it, but the Spirit of the Prophet speaks our Language, who are apt to fancy the dead to rest

reſt in their Graves, and to be diſturbed of their repoſe, when upon any occaſion they appear among the living.

Fifthly, But he ſaith, that *Saul* and his Sons ſhould be with him, *viz.* in *Thalamo juſtorum*, which ſome think not unlikely, believing that *Saul* was reprobate only in Type. But more probably the meaning is, that he ſhould be in the State of the dead in another World, as he the Prophet was.

Sixthly and Laſtly, The Spectre ſaid, that to *morrow* he ſhould be with him, which was not true, for ſeveral days intervened before the Battle. But the word *to morrow* need not be taken in ſtrictneſs, but in a Latitude of interpretation for a ſhort time. He was to dye in or upon the Fight, and the enemies were now ready for it, and ſo the event was to be within a very little while. The prediction of which, was a Prophecy of a thing very contingent, and ſhews that the Predictor was the real *Samuel*:

## SECT. XXVIII.

### *An Answer to that Objection, That if it was* Samuel's *Soul that appeared, it makes nothing to Witchcraft.*

BUt if it were the real *Samuel*, will they say, this Story will then make nothing for the Opinion of Witchcraft. For *Samuel* was not raised by enchantment, but came either of his own accord, or on a Divine Errand. To which Objection, I say,

First, Here is at least proof of an Apparition of a Man after Death.

Secondly, *Sauls* going to this *Pythoness* upon such an Inquiry, and she undertaking to bring the person up, whom he should name (at least the appearance of him) intimated *v.* 11. are good proof that this had been her practice, though at this time over-ruled, and that she acted by an Evil Spirit. For certainly when *Saul* intreats her to *Divine to him by her Familiar Spirit*, he did not mean that she should deceive, and delude him by a *Confederate*

*Knave.*

*Knave:* The ſenſleſneſs of which Figment I have already ſufficiently diſproved. That the Woman was uſed to ſuch practices, will appear fully when I come to prove Witchcraft from * expreſs Texts.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

* *The expreſs Texts that he means, I ſuppoſe are ſuch as theſe,* Exod. 22. 18. 2 Chron. 33. 6. Gal. 5. 20. Micah 5. 12. Acts 13. 6. 8. *and* Chap. 8. 9. *and more eſpecially* Deut. 18. 10. *Where almoſt all the Names of Witches are enumerated, namely, of all thoſe that are inveigled by Covenant with Evil Spirits, either explicitly, or by ſubmitting to their Ceremonies. See Dr.* H—— M—— *his Poſtſcript.*

## SECT. XXIX.

*They that hold it was an Evil Spirit that appeared to* Saul, *that their opinion may be true for ought Mr.* Webſter *brings againſt it.*

AS to the Opinion of divers Divines, that the appearing *Samuel* was indeed an Evil Spirit in his likeneſs, though I judge it not ſo probable as the other of the real *Samuel*, yet the interpretation is not abſurd nor impoſſible. And becauſe I do not abſolutely determine either way, I ſhall defend it againſt Mr. *Webſters* contrary Arguments, which whether it be ſo or not ſo, prove nothing. He ſaith,

Firſt, That this beggs two falſe ſuppoſitions, *p.* 175. as Firſt, That the Devils are ſimply incorporeal Spirits. By which if he means *Incorporeal* in their Intrinſick Eſſential Conſtitution, ſuch no doubt they are, as every Intellectual Being is. But if he mean by *ſimply Incorporeal*, diſunited from all Matter and Body, ſo perhaps (and moſt likely) they are not. But neither the

the one, or the other of theſe, is ſuppoſed by the Opinion Mr. *Webſter* impugnes. The ſecond falſe ſuppoſition is, That Devils can aſſume Bodies. That they can appear in divers Shapes and Figures, like humane and other Bodies, we affirm, and it is plain from the Scripture as to Angels, and I ſhall make the ſame good, in reference to other Spirits in due place. So that we may ſuppoſe it ſtill, till Mr. *Webſter* hath evinced the contrary, as he promiſeth. How he performs I ſhall conſider in due place.

His Second Argument is, That he is not of their Opinion, that the Devils move, and rove up and down in this Elementary World at pleaſure. Which no one I know ſaith. They go to and fro, and compaſs the Earth, but ſtill within the bounds of the Divine permiſſion, the Laws of the Angelical World, and thoſe of their own Kingdom; which prevent the Troubles and Diſturbances in the World from them, which he ſaith would enſue.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*Thus far runs the Proof of the* Existence *of* Apparitions *and* Witchcraft, *from* Holy Scripture, *entire. The three or four Lines that follow in the* MS. *and are left out, break off abruptly. But what is said, sufficiently subverts the force of Mr.* Webster's *Arguments against their Opinion, that say it was the* Devil *that appeared to* Saul. *I will only here take notice, that this part which reaches hitherto, though it be not fully finished, yet it abundantly affords Proof for the Conclusion, namely, for the* Existence *of* Spirits, Apparitions *and* Witches, *from Testimony of Holy Scripture, to as many as yield to the Authority thereof. But the following* Collection *is a Confirmation of the same things, as well to the* Anti-Scripturists, *as to them that believe Scripture.*

*And the leading Story of the* Dæmon

*of*

*of* Tedworth, *I hope now will prove irrefragable and unexceptionable, if the Reader retain in his mind, Mr.* Glanvil's *Preface to this ſecond Part of his* Saduciſmus Triumphatus, *and Mr.* Mompeſſon's *Letters, the one to Mr.* Glanvil, *the other to Mr.* Collins, *which cannot but abundantly undeceive the World. So that it is needleſs to record how Mr.* Glanvil *wrote to Mr.* William Claget *of* Bury, *and profeſſed,* He had not the leaſt ground to think he was impoſed on in what he related, and that he had great cauſe from what he ſaw himſelf, to ſay, it was impoſſible there ſhould be any Impoſture in that buſineſs.

*To the ſame purpoſe he wrote to Mr.* Gilbert Clark *in* Northampton-ſhire, *as alſo to my ſelf, and undoubtedly to many more, as he has intimated in his Preface. Beſides that, to the Parties above named, he ſent a Copy of that Letter of Mr.* Mompeſſon, *which was wrote to himſelf.*

*So that that groundleſs Rumour being thus fully ſilenced, we may now ſeaſonably relate, and that with confidence, that aſſured and unexceptionably atteſted Story of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth. *Which is as follows.*

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*Proof*

# *Proof of* Apparitions, Spirits *and* Witches, *from a choice* Collection *of modern* Relations.

## RELATION I.

*Which is the enlarged Narrative of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth, *or of the Disturbances at Mr.* Mompesson's *House, caused by* Witchcraft, *and the villany of the* Drummer.

MR. *John Mompesson* of *Tedworth*, in the County of *Wilts*, being about the middle of *March*, in the Year 1661. at a Neighboring Town called *Ludgarshal*, and hearing a Drum beat there, he inquired of the Bailiff of the Town, at whose House he then was, what it meant. The Bailiff told him, that they had for some days been troubled with an idle Drummer, who demanded money of the Constable by vertue of a pretended Pass, which he thought was counterfeit. Upon this Mr. *Mompes-*

*son*

*ſon* ſent for the Fellow, and askt him by what authority he went up and down the Country in that manner with his Drum. The Drummer anſwered, he had good authority, and produced his Paſs, with a Warrant, under the Hands of Sir *William Cawly*, and Colonel *Ayliff* of *Gretenham*. Mr. *Mompeſſon* knowing theſe Gentlemens Hands, diſcovered that the Paſs and Warrant were counterfeit, and thereupon commanded the Vagrant to put off his Drum, and charged the Conſtable to carry him before the next Juſtice of the Peace, to be further examined and puniſht. The Fellow then confeſſed the cheat, and begged earneſtly to have his Drum. Mr. *Mompeſſon* told him, that if he underſtood from Colonel *Ayliff*, whoſe Drummer he ſaid he was, that he had been an honeſt Man, he ſhould have it again, but in the mean time he would ſecure it. So he left the Drum with the Bailiff, and the Drummer in the Conſtables hands, who it ſeems was prevailed on by the Fellows intreaties to let him go.

About the midſt of *April* following, when Mr. *Mompeſſon* was preparing for a Journey to *London*, the Bailiff ſent the Drum to his Houſe. When he was returned from that Journey, his Wife told him, that they had been much affrighted in the Night by

y Thieves, and that the House had been like to have been broken up. And he had not been at home above three Nights, when the same noise was heard that had disturbed his Family in his absence. It was a very great knocking at his Doors, and the outsides of his House. Hereupon he got up, and went about the House with a brace of Pistols in his Hands. He opened the Door where the great knocking was, and then he heard the noise at another Door. He opened that also, and went out round his House, but could discover nothing, only he still heard a strange noise and hollow sound. When he was got back to bed, the noise was a Thumping and Drumming on the top of his House, which continued a good space, and then by degrees went off into the Air.

After this, the noise of Thumping and Drumming was very frequent, usually five nights together, and then it would intermit three. It was on the outsides of the House, which is most of it of Board. It constantly came as they were going to sleep, whether early or late. After a Months disturbance without, it came into the Room where the Drum lay, four or five nights in seven, within half an hour after they were in bed, continuing almost two. The sign of it just before it came, was, they still

heard

heard an hurling in the Air over the Houſe, and at its going off, the beating of a Drum like that at the breaking up of a Guard. It continued in this Room for the ſpace of two Months, which time Mr. *Mompeſſon* himſelf lay there to obſerve it. In the fore part of the night, it uſed to be very troubleſome, but after two hours all would be quiet.

Mrs. *Mompeſſon* being brought to bed, there was but little noiſe the night ſhe was in Travail, nor any for three weeks after, till ſhe had recovered ſtrength. But after this civil ceſſation, it returned in a ruder manner than before, and followed and vext the youngeſt Children, beating their Bedſteds with that violence, that all preſent expected when they would fall in pieces. In laying Hands on them, one ſhould feel no blows, but might perceive them to ſhake exceedingly. For an hour together it would beat, *Round-heads and Cuckolds*, the *Tat-too*, and ſeveral other points of War, as well as any Drummer. After this, they ſhould hear a ſcratching under the Childrens Bed, as if by ſomething that had Iron Tallons. It would lift the Children up in their Beds, follow them from one Room to another, and for a while haunted none particularly but them.

There

There was a Cock-loft in the Houſe which had not been obſerved to be troubled, thither they removed the Children, putting them to Bed while it was fair day, where they were no ſooner laid, but their troubler was with them as before.

On the Fifth of *Novemb.* 1662. it kept a mighty noiſe, and a ſervant obſerving two Boards in the Childrens Room ſeeming to move, he bid it give him one of them. Upon which the Board came (nothing moving it that he ſaw) within a yard of him. The Man added, Nay let me have it in my Hand; upon which it was ſhov'd quite home to him. He thruſt it back, and it was driven to him again, and ſo up and down, to and fro, at leaſt twenty times together, till Mr. *Mompeſſon* forbad his Servant ſuch familiarities. This was in the day-time, and ſeen by a whole Room full of People. That morning it left a ſulphurous ſmell behind it, which was very offenſive. At night the Miniſter one Mr. *Cragg*, and divers of the Neighbours came to the Houſe on a viſit. The Miniſter went to Prayers with them, Kneeling at the Childrens Bed-ſide, where it was then very troubleſome and loud. During Prayer-time it withdrew into the Cock-loft, but returned as ſoon as Prayers were done, and then in ſight of the Company, the Chairs

walkt

walkt about the Room of themselves, the Childrens shooes were hurled over their Heads, and every loose thing moved about the Chamber. At the same time a Bedstaff was thrown at the Minister, which hit him on the Leg, but so favourably that a Lock of Wool could not have fallen more softly, and it was observed, that it stopt just where it lighted, without rolling or moving from the place.

Mr. *Mompesson* perceiving, that it so much persecuted the little Children, he lodged them out at a Neighbours House, taking his Eldest Daughter, who was about Ten years of age into his own Chamber, where it had not been a Moneth before. As soon as she was in Bed, the disturbance begun there again, continuing three Weeks Drumming, and making other noises, and it was observed, that it would exactly answer in Drumming any thing that was beaten or called for. After this, the House where the Children were Lodged out, happening to be full of strangers, they were taken home, and no disturbance having been known in the Parlour, they were lodged there, where also their persecutour found them, but then only pluckt them by the Hair and Night-cloaths without any other disturbance.

It

It was noted, that when the noiſe was loudeſt, and came with the moſt ſudden and ſurpriſing violence, no Dog about the Houſe would move, though the knocking was oft ſo boiſterous and rude, that it hath been heard at a conſiderable diſtance in the Fields, and awakened the Neighbours in the Village, none of which live very near this Houſe. The Servants ſometimes were lift up with their Beds, and then let gently down again without hurt, at other times it would lye like a great weight upon their Feet.

About the latter end of *Decemb.* 1662. the Drummings were leſs frequent, and then they heard a noiſe like the gingling of Money, occaſioned, as it was thought, by ſomewhat Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s Mother had ſpoken the day before to a Neighbour, who talkt of Fayries leaving Money, *viz.* That ſhe ſhould like it well, if it would leave them ſome to make amends for their trouble. The night after the ſpeaking of which, there was a great chinking of Money over all the Houſe.

After this it deſiſted from the ruder noiſes, and employed it ſelf in little Apiſh and leſs troubleſome Tricks. On *Chriſtmas Eve* a little before day, one of the little Boys ariſing out of his Bed, was hit on a ſore place upon his Heel, with the Latch of

the

the Door, the Pin that it was faſtened with, was ſo ſmall that it was a difficult matter to pick it out. The night after *Chriſtmas* day, it threw the Old Gentlewomans cloaths about the Room, and hid her Bible in the Aſhes. In ſuch ſilly tricks it was frequent.

After this, it was very troubleſome to a Servant of Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s, who was a ſtout Fellow; and of ſober Converſation. This Man lay within, during the greateſt diſturbance, and for ſeveral nights ſomething would endeavour to pluck his cloaths off the Bed, ſo that he was fain to tug hard to keep them on, and ſometimes they would be pluckt from him by main force, and his ſhooes thrown at his head. And now and then he ſhould find himſelf forcibly held, as it were bound Hand and Foot, but he found that whenever he could make uſe of his Sword, and ſtruck with it, the Spirit quitted its hold.

A little after theſe conteſts, a Son of Sir *Thomas Bennet*, whoſe Workman the Drummer had ſometimes been, came to the Houſe, and told Mr. *Mompeſſon* ſome words that he had ſpoken, which it ſeems was not well taken. For as ſoon as they were in Bed, the Drum was beat up very violently and loudly, the Gentleman aroſe and called his Man to him, who lay with

Mr.

Mr. *Mompesson*'s Servant just now spoken of, whose name was *John*. As soon as Mr. *Bennet*'s Man was gone, *John* heard a rusling noise in his Chamber, and something came to his Bedside, as if it had been one in silk. The Man presently reacheth after his Sword, which he found held from him, and 'twas with difficulty and much tugging that he got it into his power; which as soon as he had done, the Spectre left him, and it was always observed that it still avoided a Sword.

About the beginning of *January* 1662. they were wont to hear a Singing in the Chimney before it came down. And one Night about this time, lights were seen in the House. One of them came into Mr. *Mompesson*'s Chamber which seemed blue and glimmering, and caused great stiffness in the Eyes of those that saw it. After the light something was heard coming up the Stairs, as if it had been one without Shooes. The light was seen also four or five times in the Childrens Chamber; and the Maids confidently affirm that the Doors were at least ten times opened and shut in their sight, and when they were opened they heard a noise as if half a dozen had entred together. After which some were heard to walk about the Room, and one

rusled as if it had been in silk. The like Mr. *Mompesson* himself once heard.

During the time of the knocking, when many were present, a Gentleman of the Company said, *Saran*, if the Drummer set thee to work, give three knocks and no more, which it did very distinctly and stopt. Then the Gentleman knockt, to see if it would answer him as it was wont, but it did not. For further trial, he bid it for confirmation, if it were the Drummer, to give five knocks and no more that night, which it did, and left the House quiet all the night after. This was done in the presence of Sir *Thomas Chamberlain* of *Oxfordshire*, and divers others.

On *Saturday* Morning, an hour before day, *Jan.* 10. a Drum was heard beat upon the out-sides of Mr. *Mompesson*'s Chamber, from whence it went to the other end of the House, where some Gentlemen strangers lay, playing at their door and without, four or five several Tunes, and so went off into the air.

The next night, a Smith in the Village lying with *John* the Man, they heard a noise in the room, as if one had been shoeing of an Horse, and somewhat came, as it were with a pair of Pincers, shipping at the Smiths Nose most part of the Night.

One Morning Mr. *Mompesson* rising early to go a journey, heard a great noise below, where the Children lay, and running down with a Pistol in his hand, he heard a voice, crying *a witch, a witch*, as they had also heard it once before. Upon his entrance all was quiet.

Having one Night played some little tricks at Mr. *Mompesson*'s Beds feet, it went into another Bed, where one of his Daughters lay; There it passed from side to side, lifting her up as it passed under. At that time there were three kinds of noises in the Bed. They endeavoured to thrust at it with a Sword, but it still shifted and carefully avoided the thrust, still getting under the Child when they offered at it. The Night after it came panting like a Dog out of breath. Upon which one took a Bedstaff to knock, which was caught out of her hand, and thrown away, and company coming up, the room was presently filled with a bloomy noisome smell, and was very hot, though without fire, in a very sharp and severe Winter. It continued in the Bed panting and scratching an hour and half, and then went into the next Chamber, where it knockt a little, and seemed to rattle a Chain; thus it did for two or three nights together.

After this, the old Gentlewomans Bible was found in the Aſhes, the Paper ſide being downwards. Mr. *Mompeſſon* took it up, and obſerved that it lay open at the Third Chapter of St. *Mark*, where there is mention of the unclean Spirits falling down before our Saviour, and of his giving power to the Twelve to caſt out Devils, and of the Scribes Opinion, that he caſt them out through *Beelzebub*. The next night they ſtrewed Aſhes over the Chamber, to ſee what impreſſions it would leave. In the morning they found in one place, the reſemblance of a great Claw, in another of a leſſer, ſome Letters in another, which they could make nothing of, beſides many Circles and Scratches in the Aſhes.

About this time I went to the Houſe, on purpoſe to inquire the truth of thoſe paſſages, of which there was ſo loud a report. It had ceaſed from its Drumming and ruder noiſes before I came thither, but moſt of the more remarkable circumſtances before related, were confirmed to me there by ſeveral of the neighbours together, who had been preſent at them. At this time it uſed to haunt the Children, and that as ſoon as they were laid. They went to Bed that night I was there, about Eight of the Clock, when a Maid-ſervant coming down from them, told us it was come. The neigh

neighbours that were there, and two Miniſters who had ſeen and heard divers times went away, but Mr. *Mompeſſon* and I, and a Gentleman that came with me went up. I heard a ſtrange ſcratching as I went up the Stairs, and when we came into the Room, I perceived it was juſt behind the Bolſter of the Childrens Bed, and ſeemed to be againſt the Tick. It was as loud a ſcratching, as one with long Nails could make upon a Bolſter. There were two little modeſt Girls in the Bed, between Seven and Eleven years old as I gueſt. I ſaw their hands out over the Cloaths, and they could not contribute to the noiſe that was behind their heads. They had been uſed to it, and had ſtill ſome body or other in the Chamber with them, and therefore ſeemed not to be much affrighted. I ſtanding at the Beds-head, thruſt my hand behind the Bolſter, directing it to the place whence the noiſe ſeemed to come. Whereupon the noiſe ceaſed there, and was heard in another part of the Bed. But when I had taken out my Hand it returned, and was heard in the ſame place as before. I had been told that it would imitate noiſes, and made trial by ſcratching ſeveral times upon the Sheet, as 5, and 7, and 10, which it followed and ſtill ſtopt at my number. I ſearcht under and behind the Bed, turn-

ed up the Cloaths to the Bed-cords, grasp't the Bolster, sounded the Wall behind, and made all the search that possible I could to find if there were any trick, contrivance, or common cause of it; the like did my friend, but we could discover nothing. So that I was then verily perswaded, and am so still, that the noise was made by some *Daemon* or *Spirit*. After it had scratcht about half an hour or more, it went into the midst of the Bed under the Children, and there seemed to pant like a Dog out of Breath very loudly. I put my hand upon the place, and felt the Bed bearing up against it, as if something within had thrust it up. I grasp't the Feathers to feel if any living thing were in it. I looked under and every where about, to see if there were any Dog or Cat, or any such Creature in the Room, and so we all did, but found nothing. The motion it caused by this panting was so strong, that it shook the Room and Windows very sensibly. It continued thus, more than half an hour, while my friend and I stay'd in the Room, and as long after, as we were told. During the panting, I chanced to see as it had been something (which I thought was a Rat or Mouse) moving in a Linnen Bag, that hung up against another Bed that was in the Room. I stept and

caught

caught it by the upper end with one Hand, with which I held it, and drew it through the other, but found nothing at all in it. There was no body near to shake the Bag, or if there had, no one could have made such a motion, which seemed to be from within, as if a Living Creature had moved in it. This passage I mention not in the former Editions, because it depended upon my single Testimony, and might be subject to more Evasions than the other I related; but having told it to divers Learned and Inquisitive Men, who thought it not altogether inconsiderable, I have now added it here. It will I know be said by some, that my friend and I were under some affright, and so fancied noises and sights that were not. This is the Eternal Evasion. But if it be possible to know how a Man is affected, when in fear, and when unconcerned, I certainly know for mine own part, that during the whole time of my being in the Room, and in the House, I was under no more affrightment than I am, while I write this Relation. And if I know that I am now awake, and that I see the Objects that are before me, I know that I heard and saw the particulars I have told. There is, I am sensible, no great matter for story in them, but there is so much as convinceth me, that

there was somewhat extraordinary, and what we usually call preternatural in the business. There were other passages at my being at *Tedworth*, which I published not, because they are not such plain and unexceptionable Proofs. I shall now briefly mention them, *valeant quantum valere possunt*. My friend and I lay in the Chamber, where the first and chief disturbance had been. We slept well all Night, but early before day in the Morning, I was awakened (and I awakened my Bed-fellow) by a great knocking just without our Chamber door. I askt who was there several times, but the knocking still continued without answer. At last I said, *In the Name of God, who is it, and what would you have?* to which a voice answered, *nothing with you.* We thinking it had been some Servant of the House, went to sleep again. But speaking of it to Mr. *Mompesson* when we came down, he assured us, that no one of the House lay that way, or had business thereabout, and that his Servants were not up till he called them, which was after it was day. Which they confirmed and protested that the noise was not made by them.

Mr. *Mompesson* had told us before, that it would be gone in the middle of the Night, and come again divers times early

in

in the Morning about Four a Clock, and this I ſuppoſe was about that time.

Another paſſage was this, my Man coming up to me in the Morning, told me, that one of my Horſes ( that on which I rode ) was all in a ſweat, and lookt as if he had been rid all Night. My friend and I went down and found him ſo. I enquired how he had been uſed, and was aſſured that he had been well fed, and ordered as he uſed to be; and my Servant was one that was wont to be very careful about my Horſes. The Horſe I had had a good time, and never knew but that he was very ſound. But after I had rid him a Mile or two, very gently over a plain Down from Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s houſe, he fell lame, and having made a hard ſhift to bring me home, dyed in two or three days, no one being able to imagine what he ailed. This I confeſs might be accident or ſome unuſual diſtemper, but all things being put together, it ſeems very probable that it was ſomewhat elſe.

But I go on with Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s own particulars. There came one Morning a light into the Childrens Chamber, and a voice crying, *a Witch*, *a Witch*, for at leaſt an hundred times together.

Mr. *Mompeſſon* at another time ( being in the day) ſeeing ſome wood move that was in

the

the Chimney of a Room, where he was, as of it self, discharged a Pistol into it, after which they found several drops of Blood on the Harth, and in divers places of the Stairs.

For two or three nights after the discharge of the Pistol, there was a calm in the House, but then it came again, applying it self to a little Child newly taken from Nurse. Which it so persecuted, that it would not let the poor Infant rest for two nights together, nor suffer a Candle in the Room, but carry them away lighted up the Chimney, or throw them under the Bed. It so scared this Child by leaping upon it, that for some hours it could not be recovered out of the fright. So that they were forced again to remove the Children out of the house. The next night after which something about Mid-night came up the Stairs, and knockt at Mr. *Mompesson*'s door, but he lying still, it went up another pair of Stairs, to his Mans Chamber, to whom it appeared standing at his Beds foot. The exact shape and proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw a great Body with two red and glaring Eyes, which for some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length disappeared.

Another night strangers being present, it purr'd in the Childrens Bed like a Cat,

at

at which time also the Cloaths and Children were lift up from the Bed, and six Men could not keep them down. Hereupon they removed the Children, intending to have ript up the Bed. But they were no sooner laid in another, but the second Bed was more troubled than the first. It continued thus four hours, and so beat the Childrens Leggs against the Bed-posts, that they were forced to arise, and sit up all night. After this, it would empty Chamberpots into their Beds, and strew them with Ashes, though they were never so carefully watcht. It put a long piked Iron into Mr. *Mompesson*'s Bed, and into his Mothers a naked Knife upright. It would fill Porrengers with Ashes, throw every thing about and keep a noise all day.

About the beginning of *April*, 1663. a Gentleman that lay in the house, had all his money turned black in his Pockets; and Mr. *Mompesson* coming one Morning into his Stable, found the Horse he was wont to Ride, on the Ground, having one of his hinder Leggs in his Mouth, and so fastened there, that it was difficult for several Men to get it out with a Leaver. After this, there were some other remarkable things, but my account goes no further. Only Mr. *Mompesson* writ me word, that afterwards the House was several nights beset

set with seven or eight in the shape of Men, who, as soon as a Gun was discharged, would shuffle away together into an Arbour.

The Drummer was tryed at the Assizes at *Salisbury* upon this occasion. He was committed first to *Gloucester* Gaol for stealing, and a *Wiltshire* Man coming to see him, he askt what news in *Wiltshire*. The Visitant said, he knew of none. No, saith the Drummer! do not you hear of the Drumming at a Gentlemans house at *Tedworth*. That I do enough, said the other. I, quoth the Drummer, I have plagued him (or to that purpose) and he shall never be at quiet, till he hath made me satisfaction for taking away my Drum. Upon Information of this, the fellow was tryed for a Witch at *Sarum*, and all the main circumstances I have related, were sworn at the Assizes by the Minister of the Parish, and divers others of the most intelligent and substantial Inhabitants, who had been Eye and Ear witnesses of them, time after time for divers years together.

The fellow was condemned to Transportation, and accordingly sent away; but I know not how ('tis said by raising storms, and affrighting the Seamen) he made a shift to come back again. And 'tis observable, that during all the time of his restraint

traint and absence the house was quiet, but as soon as ever he came back at liberty, the disturbance returned.

He had been a Souldier under *Cromwel*, and used to talk much of Gallant Books he had of an odd fellow, who was counted a Wizzard. Upon this occasion, I shall here add a passage, which I had not from Mr. *Mompesson*, but yet relates to the main purpose.

The Gentleman, who was with me at the House, Mr. *Hill*, being in company with one *Compton* of *Summersetshire*, who practiseth Physick, and pretends to strange matters, related to him this story of Mr. *Mompesson*'s disturbance. The Physician told him, he was sure it was nothing but a Rendezvouz of Witches, and that for an hundred pounds, he would undertake to rid the House of all disturbance. In pursuit of this discourse, he talkt of many high things, and having drawn my friend into another Room apart from the rest of the company, said, he would make him sensible he could do something more than ordinary; and askt him who he desired to see. Mr. *Hill* had no great confidence in his talk, but yet being earnestly prest to name some one, He said, he desired to see no one so much as his Wife, who was then many miles distant from them at her home. Upon this,

*Compton*

*Compton* took up a Looking-glaſs that was in the Room, and ſetting it down again, bid my friend look in it; which he did, and there, as he moſt ſolemnly and ſeriouſly profeſſeth, he ſaw the exact Image of his Wife in that habit which ſhe then wore, and working at her Needle in ſuch a part of the Room (there repreſented alſo) in which and about which time ſhe really was as he found upon inquiry when he came home. The Gentleman himſelf averred this to me, and he is a very ſober, intelligent, and credible perſon. *Compton* had no knowledge of him before, and was an utter ſtranger to the perſon of his Wife. The ſame Man we ſhall meet again in the ſtory of the Witchcrafts of *Elizabeth Style*, whom he diſcovered to be a Witch by foretelling her coming into an houſe, and going out again without ſpeaking, as is ſet down in the third *Relation*. He was by all counted a very odd perſon.

Thus I have written the ſumm of Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s diſturbance, which I had partly from his own mouth related before divers, who had been witneſſes of all, and confirmed his relation, and partly from his own Letters, from which the order and ſeries of things is taken. The ſame particulars he writ alſo to Dr. *Creed*, then Doctor of the Chair in *Oxford*.

Mr.

Mr. *Mompesson* is a Gentleman, of whose
uth in this account, I have not the least
round of suspicion, he being neither vain
or credulous, but a discreet, sagacious and
manly person. Now the credit of matters
f Fact depends much upon the Relatours,
who, if they cannot be deceived themselves
or supposed any ways interested to impose
pon others, ought to be credited. For up-
n these circumstances, all humane Faith is
grounded, and matter of Fact is not capa-
le of any proof besides, but that of imme-
diate sensible evidence. Now this Gentle-
man cannot be thought ignorant, whether
hat he relates be true or no, the Scene of
ll being his own house, himself a witness
nd that not of a circumstance or two, but
f an hundred, nor for once or twice on-
y, but for the space of some years, during
which he was a concerned, and inquisitive
Observer. So that it cannot with any shew
of reason be supposed that any of his Ser-
vants abused him, since in all that time he
must needs have detected the deceit. And
what interest could any of his family have
had (if it had been possible to have ma-
naged it without discovery) to continue so
long so troublesome, and so injurious an
Imposture: Nor can it with any whit of
more probability be imagined, that his own
melancholy deluded him, since (besides that

he

he is no crazy nor imaginative perſon that humour could not have been ſo laſting and pertinacious. Or if it were ſo in him, can we think he infected his whole Family, and thoſe multitudes of neighbors and others, who had ſo often been witneſſes of thoſe paſſages? Such ſuppoſals are wild, and not like to tempt any, but thoſe whoſe Wills are their Reaſons. So that upon the whole, the principal Relatour Mr *Mompeſſon* himſelf knew, whether what he reports was true or not, whether thoſe things acted in his houſe were contrived *Cheats*, or extraordinary *Realities*. And if ſo, what intereſt could he ſerve in carrying on, or conniving at a juggling Deſign and Impoſture?

He ſuffered by it in his Name, in his Eſtate, in all his Affairs, and in the general peace of his Family. The Unbelievers in the matter of Spirits and Witches took him for an Impoſtour. Many others judged the permiſſion of ſuch an extraordinary evil to be the judgment of God upon him, for ſome notorious wickedneſs or impiety. Thus his name was continually expoſed to cenſure, and his eſtate ſuffered, by the concourſe of people from all parts to his houſe, by the diverſion it gave him from his affairs, by the diſcouragement of Servants, by reaſon of which he could hardly get any to live

with

with him. To which if I add the continual hurry that his Family was in, the affrights, vexations and toſſings up and down of his Children, and the watchings and diſturbance of his whole houſe (in all which, himſelf muſt needs be the moſt concerned perſon) I ſay, if theſe things are conſidered, there will be little reaſon to think he could have any intereſt to put a cheat upon the World, in which he would moſt of all have injured and abuſed himſelf. Or if he ſhould have deſigned and managed ſo incredible, ſo unprofitable a Deluſion, 'tis ſtrange that he ſhould have troubled himſelf ſo long in ſuch a buſineſs, only to deceive, and to be talkt of. And it is yet more ſo; that none of thoſe many inquiſitive perſons that came thither purpoſely to criticize and examine the truth of thoſe matters, could make any diſcoveries of the juggling, eſpecially ſince many came prejudiced againſt the belief of ſuch things in general, and others reſolved before-hand againſt the belief of this, and all were permitted the utmoſt freedom of ſearch and inquiry. And after things were weighed and examined, ſome that were before greatly prejudiced, went away fully convinced. To all which I add, that

There are divers particulars in the ſtory, in which no abuſe or deceit could have been

practiſed, as the motion of Boards and Chairs of themſelves, the beating of a Drum in the midſt of a Room, and in the Air, when nothing was to be ſeen; the great heat in a Chamber that had no Fire in exceſſive cold weather, the ſcratching and panting, the violent beating and ſhaking of the Bedſteads, of which there was no perceivable cauſe or occaſion: In theſe and ſuch like inſtances, it is not to be conceived how tricks could have been put upon ſo many, ſo jealous, and ſo inquiſitive perſons as were witneſſes of them.

'Tis true, that when the Gentlemen the King ſent were there, the Houſe was quiet, and nothing ſeen nor heard that night, which was confidently and with triumph urged by many, as a confutation of the ſtory. But 'twas bad Logick to conclude in matters of *Fact* from a ſingle *Negative* and ſuch a one againſt numerous *Affirmatives*, and ſo affirm that a thing was never done, becauſe not at ſuch a particular time, and that no body ever ſaw what this Man or that did not. By the ſame way of reaſoning, I may inferr that there were never any Robberies done on *Salisbury* Plain, *Hounſlow* Heath, or the other noted places, becauſe I have often Travelled all thoſe ways, and yet was never Robbed; and the *Spaniard* inferred well that ſaid, There was no Sun in

*England*

*ngland*, becauſe he had been ſix Weeks here nd never ſaw it. This is the common ar- ument of thoſe that deny the Being of *Ap- aritions*, they have Travelled all hours of he night, and never ſaw any thing worſe han themſelves ( which may well be ) and hence they conclude, that all pretended *Apparitions* are *Fancies* or *Impoſtures*. But hy do not ſuch arguers conclude, that here was never a Cut-purſe in *London*, be- auſe they have lived there many years ithout being met with by any of thoſe ractiſers? Certainly he that denies *Appa- itions* upon the confidence of this *Negative* gainſt the vaſt heap of *Poſitive* aſſurances, credulous in believing there was ever any *ighway-man* in the World, if he himſelf as never Robb'd. And the Trials of Aſſi- es and Atteſtations of thoſe that have ( if e will be juſt ) ought to move his Aſſent o more in this caſe, than in that of *Witches* nd *Apparitions*, which have the very ſame vidence.

But as to the quiet of Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s ouſe when the Courtiers were there, it ay be remembred and conſidered, that the ſturbance was not conſtant, but intermit- d ſometimes ſeveral dayes, ſometimes eeks. So that the intermiſſion at that me might be accidental, or perhaps the *emon* was not willing to give ſo publick

a Teſtimony of thoſe Tranſactions, which poſſibly might convince thoſe, who he had rather ſhould continue in the unbelief of his exiſtence. But however it were, this circumſtance will afford but a very ſlender inference againſt the credit of the ſtory, except among thoſe who are willing to take any thing for an Argument againſt things which they have an intereſt not to acknowledge.

I have thus related the ſum of the ſtory, and noted ſome circumſtances that aſſure the truth of it. I confeſs the paſſages recited are not ſo dreadful, Tragical and amazing, as there are ſome in ſtory of this kind yet are they never the leſs probable or true for their being not ſo prodigious and aſtoniſhing. And they are ſtrange enough to prove themſelves effects of ſome *inviſible extraordinary Agent*, and ſo demonſtrate that there are *Spirits*, who ſometimes ſenſibly intermeddle in our affairs. And I think they do it with clearneſs of evidence. For the things were not done long ago, or at ſo diſtance, in an ignorant age, or among barbarous people, they were not ſeen by two or three only of the Melancholick and ſuperſtitious, and reported by thoſe that made them ſerve the advantage and intereſt of a party. They were not the paſſages of a Day or Night, nor the vaniſhing

glance

glances of an *Apparition*; but these Transactions were *near* and *late*, *publick*, *frequent*, and of *divers years continuance*, witnessed by multitudes of competent and unbyassed Attestors, and acted in a searching incredulous Age: Arguments enough one would think to convince any modest and capable reason.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*This Narrative of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth *is published in an Epistolar Form in the former Impressions. But the enlargement thereof, that is to say, the said Narrative enlarged for this intended Edition, is not in that form, and therefore is thus published according to Mr.* Glanvil's *M. S. in this bare simple form it was found. As for Mr.* Glanvil's *Letter to Dr.* More, *which was in the former Impressions, though for the first parts sake it might seem fit here to be interserted, it containing Objections and Queries touching the stirrs at Mr.* Mompesson's *house, yet the greater part by far being of another subject, and the most material of those Objections and Queries being so well satisfied in this more perfect Narrative it self, I thought it more advisable to omit that Letter in this present Edition, that there might be left more room for what is*

*more congenerous to the Argument in hand. And therefore we will immediately proceed to the ſecond Relation.*

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## RELAT. II.

*Which is concerning Witchcraft practiſed by* Jane Brooks *upon* Richard Jones, *Son of* Henry Jones *of* Shepton Mallet.

ON *Sunday* 15. of *Novemb.* 1657. about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Richard Jones* then a ſprightly youth about Twelve years old, Son of *Henry Jones* of *Shepton Mallet*, in the County of *Somerſet*, being in his Fathers houſe alone, and perceiving one looking in at the Windows, went to the Door, where one *Jane Brooks* of the ſame Town (but then by name unknown to this Boy) came to him. She deſired him to give her a piece of cloſe Bread, and gave him an Apple. After which ſhe alſo ſtroked him down on the right ſide, ſhook him by the hand, and ſo bid him good night. The youth returned into the houſe, where he had been left well, when his Father and one *Gibſon* went from him, but at their return, which was within an hour

hour or thereabout, they found him ill, and complaining of his right ſide, in which the pain continued the moſt part of that night. And on *Munday* following in the Evening, the Boy roſted the Apple he had of *Jane Brooks*, and having eaten about half of it, was extreamly ill, and ſometimes ſpeechleſs, but being recovered, he told his Father, that a Woman of the Town on the *Sunday* before, had given him that Apple, and that ſhe ſtroked him on the ſide. He ſaid he knew not her name, but ſhould her perſon, if he ſaw her. Upon this *Jones* was adviſed to invite the Women of *Shepton* to come to his Houſe, upon the occaſion of his Sons illneſs, and the Child told him, that in caſe the Woman ſhould come in when he was in his Fit, if he were not able to ſpeak, he would give him an intimation by a Jogg, and deſired that his Father would then lead him through the room, for he ſaid he would put his hand upon her, if ſhe were there. After this he continuing very ill, many Women came daily to ſee him. And *Jane Brooks* the *Sunday* after, came in with Two of her Siſters, and ſeveral other Women of the Neighbour-hood were there.

Upon her coming in, the Boy was taken ſo ill, that for ſome time he could not ſee nor ſpeak, but having recovered his ſight,

he gave his Father the *Item*, and he led him about the Room. The Boy drew towards *Jane Brooks*, who was behind her two Sisters among the other Women, and put his hand upon her, which his Father perceiving, immediately scratcheth her Face and drew Blood from her. The youth then presently cryed out that he was well, and so he continued seven or eight days. But then meeting with *Alice Coward*, Sister to *Jane Brooks*, who passing by said to him [How do you my Hony] he presently fell ill again. And after that, the said *Coward* and *Brooks* often appeared to him. The Boy would describe the Clothes and Habit they were in at the time exactly, as the Constable and others have found upon repairing to them, though *Brooks*'s house was at a good distance from *Jones*'s. This they often tryed, and always found the Boy right in his Descriptions.

On a certain *Sunday* about Noon, the Child being in a Room with his Father and one *Gibson*, and in his fit, he on the sudden called out, that he saw *Jane Brooks* on the Wall, and pointed to the place, where immediately *Gibson* struck with a Knife. Upon which the Boy cryed out, [O Father, cooz *Gibson* hath cut *Jane Brooks*'s hand, and 'tis Bloody] The Father and *Gibson* immediately repaired to the Constable

ble a diſcreet Perſon, and acquainting him with what had paſſed, deſired him to go with them to *Jane Brooks*'s houſe, which he did. They found her ſitting in her room on a ſtool with one hand over the other. The Conſtable askt her how ſhe did? ſhe answered, not well. He askt again why ſhe ſat with one hand over the other? ſhe replied, ſhe was wont to do ſo. He enquired if any thing were amiſs with her hand? her anſwer was, it was well enough. The Conſtable deſired he might ſee the hand that was under, which ſhe being unwilling to ſhew him, he drew it out and found it bloudy according to what the Boy had ſaid. Being askt how it came ſo, ſhe ſaid 'twas ſcratched with a great Pin.

On the Eighth of *December*, 1657. The Boy, *Jane Brooks*, and *Alice Coward*, appeared at *Caſtle-Cary* before the Juſtices, Mr. *Hunt* and Mr. *Cary*. The Boy having begun to give his Teſtimony, upon the coming in of the two Women and their looking on him was inſtantly taken Speechleſs; and ſo remained till the Women were removed out of the room, and then in a ſhort time upon examination he gave a full relation of the mentioned particulars.

On the Eleventh of *January* following, the Boy was again examined by the ſame Juſtices at *Shepton Mallet*, and upon the ſight

ſight of *Jane Brooks* was again taken Speechleſs, but was not ſo afterwards when *Alice Coward* came into the room to him.

On the next appearance at *Shepton*, which was on the Seventeenth of *February*, there were preſent many Gentlemen, Miniſters and others. The Boy fell into his fit upon the ſight of *Jane Brooks*, and lay in a Man's Arms like a dead Perſon; the Woman was then willed to lay her hand on him, which ſhe did, and he thereupon ſtarted and ſprang out in a very ſtrange and unuſual manner. One of the Juſtices to prevent all poſſibilities of Legerdemain, cauſed *Gibſon* and the reſt to ſtand off from the Boy, and then that Juſtice himſelf held him; the Youth being blindfolded, the Juſtice called as if *Brooks* ſhould touch him, but winked to others to do it, which two or three ſucceſſively did, but the Boy appeared not concerned. The Juſtice then called on the Father to take him, but had privately before deſired one Mr. *Geoffry Strode*., to bring *Jane Brooks* to touch him at ſuch a time as he ſhould call for his Father, which was done, and the Boy immediately ſprang out after a very odd and violent faſhion. He was after touched by ſeveral Perſons and moved not; but *Jane Brooks* being again cauſed to put her hand upon him, he ſtarted and ſprang out twice or thrice as before. All this

while

while he remained in his fit and ſome time after; and being then laid on a bed in the ſame room, the People preſent could not for a long time bow either of his Arms or Leggs.

Between the mentioned 15. of *Nov.* and the 11. of *Jan.* the two Women appeared often to the Boy, their Hands cold, their Eyes ſtaring, and their Lips and Cheeks looking pale. In this manner on a *Thurſday* about Noon, the Boy being newly laid into his bed, *Jane Brooks* and *Alice Coward* appeared to him, and told him that what they had begun they could not perform. But if he would ſay no more of it, they would give him Money, and ſo put a Two-pence into his Pocket. After which they took him out of his bed, laid him on the ground, and vaniſhed, and the Boy was found by thoſe that came next into the room lying on the flour, as if he had been dead. The Two-pence was ſeen by many, and when it was put into the fire and hot, the Boy would fall ill; but as ſoon as it was taken out and cold, he would be again as well as before. This was ſeen and obſerved by a Miniſter a diſcreet Perſon, when the Boy was in one room and the Two-pence (without his knowledge) put into the fire in another, and this was divers times tried in the preſence of ſeveral Perſons.

Be-

Between the 8. of *Dec.* and the 17. of *Feb.* in the Year mentioned, divers Perſons at ſundry times heard in the Boy a noiſe like the croaking of a Toad, and a voice within him ſaying, *Jane Brooks*, *Alice Coward*, twelve times in near a quarter of an hour. At the ſame time ſome held a Candle before the Boys face, and earneſtly looked on him, but could not perceive the leaſt motion of his Tongue, Teeth or Lips, while the voice was heard.

On the 25. of *Feb.* between two and three in the Afternoon, the Boy being at the houſe of *Richard Iſles* in *Shepton Mallet*, went out of the room into the Garden, *Iſles* his Wife followed him, and was within two Yards when ſhe ſaw him riſe up from the ground before her, and ſo mounted higher and higher till he paſſed in the Air over the Garden wall, and was carried ſo above ground more than 30 Yards, falling at laſt at one *Jordan*'s Door at *Shepton*, where he was found as dead for a time. But coming to himſelf told *Jordan*, that *Jane Brooks* had taken him up by the Arm out of *Iſles* his Garden, and carried him in the Air as is related.

The Boy at ſeveral other times was gone on the ſuddain, and upon ſearch after him found in another room as dead, and at ſometimes ſtrangely hanging above the ground, his hands being flat againſt a great Beam

in

n the top of the room, and all his Body wo or three foot from ground. There he ath hung a quarter of an hour together, nd being afterwards come to himſelf, he old thoſe that found him, that *Jane Brooks* had carried him to that place and held him there. Nine People at a time ſaw the Boy ſo ſtrangely hanging by the Beam.

From the 15. of *Nov.* to the 10. of *March* following, he was by reaſon of his fits much waſted in his body and unſpirited, but after that time, being the day the two Women were ſent to Gaol, he had no more of thoſe fits.

*Jane Brooks* was Condemned and Executed at *Charde* Aſſizes, *March* 26. 1658.

This is the ſum of Mr. *Hunts* Narrative, which concludes with both the Juſtices atteſtation, thus:

The aforeſaid paſſages were ſome of them ſeen by us: and the reſt and ſome other remarkable ones, not here ſet down, were upon the examination of ſeveral credible witneſſes taken upon Oath before us.

Subſcribed,

*Rob. Hunt, John Cary.*

This

This I think is good evidence of the being of Witches; if the *Sadducee* be not satisfied with it, I would fain know what kind of Proof he would expect. Here are the Testimonies of sense, the Oaths of several credible attesters, the nice and deliberate scrutiny of quick-sighted and judicious examiners, and the judgment of an Assize upon the whole. And now the security of all our lives and fortunes depends upon no greater circumstances of evidence than these. If such proof may not be credited, no Fact can be proved, no wickedness can be punished, no right can be determined, Law is at an end, and blind Justice cannot tell how to decide any thing.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*The most fit Advertisement here is Mr.* Glanvills *Transition to fresh Evidences, out of Mr.* Hunts *examinations, which is this. Thus far,* saith he, *the Evidence of Fact went in the former Editions, but having resolved upon this* Reenforcement, *I writ again to my Honoured Friend Mr.* Hunt, *knowing that he had more materials for my purpose, and such as would afford proof sufficient to any modest doubter. In Answer he was pleased to send me his* Book of Examinations of Witches, *which he kept by*

*him fairly written. It contains the discovery such an hellish Knot of them, and that discovery so clear and plain, that perhaps there hath not yet any thing appeared to us with stronger evidence to confirm the belief of Witches. And had not his discoveries and endeavours met with great opposition and discouragements from some then in Authority, the whole Clan of those hellish Confederates in these parts had been justly exposed and punished. Out of that Book I have collected some main instances, the clearness of which I think will be enough to overcome and silence any indifferent prejudice. But some are so settled and obdurate, that no proof in the World is sufficient to remove them. I begin with the Witchcrafts of* Elizabeth Style.

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## RELAT. III.

*which containeth the Witchcrafts of* Elizabeth Style *of* Bayford, *Widow.*

THis *Elizabeth Style* of *Stoke Trister*, in the County of *Somerset*, was accused by divers Persons of Credit upon Oath before Mr. *Hunt*, and particularly and largely confessed her guilt her self, which was found

found by the Jury at her Trial at *Taunton*. But ſhe prevented Execution by dying in Gaol, a little before the expiring of the term her Confederate *Dæmon* had ſet for her enjoyment of Diabolical pleaſures in this life. I have ſhortned the examinations, and caſt them into ſuch an order, as I think fitteſt for the rendring the matter clear and intelligible.

1. Exam. *Rich. Hill* of *Stoke Triſter*, in the County of *Somerſet* Yeoman, being examined upon Oath, *Jan.* 23. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; one of His Majeſties Juſtices for that County, concerning the bewitching of his Daughter by *Eliz. Style*; declareth, That his Daughter *Eliz. Hill*, about the Age of 13 Years, hath been for about two Months laſt paſt taken with very ſtrange fits which have held her an hour, two, three and more; and that in thoſe fits the Child hath told her Father, the Examinant and others, that one *Eliz. Style* of the ſame Pariſh appeared to her, and is the Perſon that Torments her. She alſo in her fits uſually tells what Clothes *Eliz. Style* hath on at the time, which the informant and others have ſeen and found true.

He ſaith further, that about a Fortnight before Chriſtmas laſt, he told *Style* that his Daughter ſpoke much of her in her fits, and did believe that ſhe was bewitched by her.

her. Whereupon *Francis white*, and *walter*, and *Robert Thick* being preſent, willed her to complain to the Juſtice againſt him for accuſing of her. But ſhe having uſed ſeveral put-offs, ſaid ſhe would do worſe than fetch a Warrant. After which the Girl grew worſe than before, and at the end of a fit ſhe tells the Examinant when ſhe ſhall have another, which happens accordingly, and affirms, that *Style* tells her when the next fit ſhall come. He informs further, that *Moriday* Night after Chriſtmas day about Nine of the Clock, and four or five times ſince about the ſame hour of the Night, his Daughter hath been more Tormented than formerly, and that though held in a Chair by four or five People, ſometimes ſix, by the Arms, Legs, and Shoulders, ſhe would riſe out of her Chair, and raiſe her body about three or four foot high. And that after, in her fits, ſhe would have holes made in her Hand-wriſts, Face, Neck, and other parts of her Body, which the Informant and others that ſaw them conceived to be with Thorns. For they ſaw Thorns in her Fleſh, and ſome they hooked out. That upon the Childs pointing with her Finger from place to place, the Thorns and Holes immediately appeared to the Informant and others looking on. And as ſoon as the Child can ſpeak after the fit, ſhe ſaith that

Widow *Style* did prick her with Thorns in thoſe ſeveral places, which was horrible Torment, and ſhe ſeemed to the Informant and others ſtanding by, to be in extream pain and torture. The Child hath been ſo tormented and pricked with Thorns four ſeveral Nights, at which times the Informant and many other People have ſeen the fleſh riſe up in little *bunches* in which *Holes* did appear. The Pricking held about a quarter of an hour at a time during each of the four fits, and the Informant hath ſeen the Child take out ſome of thoſe Thorns.

The ſame *Rich. Hill* Examined *Jan.* 26. 1664. informs, that when he rode from the Juſtices houſe with a Warrant to bring *Styles* before him, his Horſe on a ſuddain ſate down on his breech and he could not after ride him, but as ſoon as he attempted to get up, his Horſe would ſit down and paw with his feet before. He ſaith further, that ſince *Styles* was Examined before the Juſtice and made her Confeſſion to him, ſhe hath acknowledged to the Informant that ſhe had hurt his Daughter, and that one *Anne Biſhop*, and *Alice Duke*, did joyn in bewitching of her.

Taken upon Oath before me,

*Rob. Hunt.*

2. Exam. *William Parſons* Rector of *Stoke Triſter*, in the County of *Somerſet*, Examined

the

he 26. of *Jan.* 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; oncerning the bewitching of *Rich. Hill's* Daughter ſaith, That on *Monday* Night fter Chriſtmas day then laſt paſt, he came nto the room when *Eliz. Hill* was in her it, many of his Pariſhioners being preſent nd looking on. He there ſaw the Child eld in a Chair by main force by the People, lunging far beyond the ſtrength of nature, oaming and catching at her own Arms nd Clothes with her Teeth. This fit he conceives held about half an hour. After ome time, ſhe pointed with her finger to he left ſide of her Head, next to her left Arm, and then to her left Hand, *&c.* and where ſhe pointed he perceived a red ſpot to ariſe with a ſmall black in the midſt of it like a ſmall Thorn. She pointed alſo to her Toes one after another, and expreſt great ſenſe of Torment. This latter fit he gueſſes continued about a quarter of an hour, during moſt or all of which time her ſtomach ſeemed to ſwell, and her head where ſhe ſeemed to be prickt did ſo very much. She ſate foaming much of the time, and the next day after her fit, ſhe ſhewed the Examinant the places where the Thorns were ſtuck in, and he ſaw the Thorns in thoſe places.

Taken upon Oath before me

Subſcribed, *Rob. Hunt.*

*William Parſons* Rector of *Stoke Triſter.*

3. Exam. *Nicholas Lambert* of *Bayford*, in the County of *Somerset* Yeoman, Examined upon Oath before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; *Jan.* 30. 1664. concerning the bewitching of *Rich. Hill's* Daughter by *Elizabeth Style*, testifieth, That *Monday* after Christmas day last, being with others in the house of *Rich. Hill*, he saw his Daughter *Elizabeth* taken very ill, and in fits that were so strong that six Men could not hold her down in a Chair in which she was sate, but that she would raise the Chair up in spight of their utmost force. That in her fits being not able to speak, she would rest her body as one in great Torment, and point with her Finger to her Neck, Head, Hand-wrists, Arms and Toes. And he, with the rest looking on the places to which she pointed, saw on the suddain little red spots arise with little black ones in the midst, as if Thorns were stuck in them, but the Child then onely pointed without touching her flesh with her Finger.

Taken upon Oath before me

*Rob. Hunt.*

4. Exam. *Richard Vining* of *Stoke Trister* Butcher, Examined *Jan.* 26. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning the bewitching of his Wife by *Eliz. Style*, saith, That about two or three days before S. *James's* day three years since or thereabout, his late Wife

*Agnes*

*Agnes* fell out with *Eliz. Style*, and within two or three days after she was taken with a grievous pricking in her Thigh, which pain continued for a long time, till after some Physick taken from one *Hallet*, she was at some ease for three or four weeks. About the Christmas after the mentioned S. *James*'s day, *Style* came to the Examinants house, and gave *Agnes* his Wife two Apples, one of them a very fair red Apple, which *Style* desired her to eat, which she did, and in a few hours was taken ill and worse than ever she had been before. Upon this, the Examinant went to one Mr. *Compton*, who lived in the Parish of *Ditch Eate*, (the same Person that shewed my Friend his Wife in a Glass, as I have related in the story of Mr. *Mompesson*) for Physick for his Wife. *Compton* told him he could do her no good, for that she was hurt by a near Neighbour, who would come into his house and up into the Chamber where his Wife was, but would go out again without speaking. After *Vining* came home, being in the Chamber with his Wife, *Style* came up to them, but went out again without saying a word. *Agnes* the Wife continued in great pain till Easter Eve following, and then she dyed. Before her Death her Hip rotted and one of her Eyes swelled out, she declared to him then and at several times be-

fore, that ſhe believed *Eliz. Style* had be-
witched her, and that ſhe was the cauſe o
her Death.

Taken upon Oath before me,

*Rob. Hunt.*

Whilſt the Juſtice was Examining *Style*
at *Wincaunton*, (which is not above a Mile
and a half from *Stoke Triſter*) upon the for-
mer evidence againſt her, he obſerved that
*Rich. Vining* looked very earneſtly upon him.
Whereupon he askt *Vining* if he had any
thing to ſay unto him. He anſwered that
*Style* had bewitched his Wife, and told the
manner how, as is in his depoſition related.
The Woman *Style* upon this ſeemed appaled
and concerned, and the Juſtice ſaying to
her, You have been an old ſinner, *&c.* You
deſerve little mercy: ſhe replied, I have askt
God mercy for it. Mr. *Hunt* askt her, why
then ſhe would continue in ſuch ill courſes?
ſhe ſaid the Devil tempted her: and then
began to make ſome Confeſſion of his act-
ings with her. Upon this the Juſtice ſent
her to the Conſtables houſe at *Bayford*, which
is in the Pariſh of *Stoke Triſter*, (the Conſtable
was one Mr. *Gapper*) and the next Morning
went thither himſelf, accompanied with
two Perſons of quality Mr. *Bull*, and Mr. *Court*,
now Juſtices of the Peace in this County.

Now

Now before I proceed further in the ſtory, I ſhall take notice that here are Three credible witneſſes, ſwearing to the ſame particulars, in that the Child *Elizabeth Hill* was ſometimes in ſtrange fits, in which her ſtrength was encreaſed beyond the proportion of Nature, and the force of divers Men; that then ſhe pointed to the parts of her Body, where they ſaw red ſpots ariſing, and black ſpecks in the midſt of them, that ſhe complained ſhe was prickt with Thorns, and two of them ſaw Thorns in the places of which ſhe complained. Some of which Thorns, one ſwears that he and others ſaw hooked out, and that the Girl her ſelf pulled out others; that in her fits ſhe declared *Style* appears to her (as *Jane Brooks* did to *Richard Jones*, in the former Relation) and tells her when ſhe ſhall have another fit, which happens accordingly; that ſhe deſcribes the Clothes the Woman hath on, exactly as they find. But notwithſtanding, all this ſhall be Melancholy and Fancy, or Legerdemain, or natural Diſtemper, or any thing but Witchcraft, or the Fact ſhall be denied, and the three Witneſſes perjured, though this confidence againſt the Oaths of ſober Men, tend to the overthrow of all Teſtimony and Hiſtory, and the rendring all Laws uſeleſs. I ſhall therefore proceed to further proof, and ſuch as will abundantly

ſtrengthen this. It is the confeſſion of *Style* her ſelf.

I left Mr. *Hunt*, and the other two Gentlemen at the Conſtables houſe, where *Style* was, upon buſineſs of further Examination, where ſhe enlarged upon the Confeſſion ſhe had before begun to make, and declared the whole matter at that and two other times after in the particulars that follow.

5. Exam. *Elizabeth Styles* her Confeſſion of her Witchcrafts, *Jan.* 26. and 30. and *Feb.* 7. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Eſq; She then confeſſed, that the Devil about Ten years ſince, appeared to her in the ſhape of a handſome Man, and after of a black Dog. That he promiſed her Mony, and that ſhe ſhould live gallantly, and have the pleaſure of the World for Twelve years, if ſhe would with her Blood ſign his Paper, which was to give her Soul to him, and obſerve his Laws, and that he might ſuck her Blood. This after four ſolicitations, the Examinant promiſed him to do. Upon which he prickt the fourth Finger of her right hand, between the middle and upper joynt (where the ſign at the Examination remained) and with a drop or two of her Blood, ſhe ſigned the Paper with an [O]. Upon this the Devil gave her Sixpence, and vaniſhed with the Paper.

That ſince he hath appeared to her in the

ſhape

hape of a *Man*, and did ſo on *Wedneſday* ſe-
ven-night paſt, but more uſually he appears
n the likeneſs of a *Dog*, and *Cat*, and a *Fly*
ike a Millar, in which laſt he uſually ſucks
n the Poll about four of the Clock in the
Morning, and did ſo *Jan.* 27. and that it u-
ſually is pain to her to be ſo ſuckt.

That when ſhe hath a deſire to do harm,
he calls the Spirit by the name of *Robin*, to
whom when he appeareth, ſhe uſeth theſe
words, *O Sathan give me my purpoſe.* She
hen tells him what ſhe would have done.
And that he ſhould ſo appear to her, was
art of her Contract with him.

That about a Month ago he appearing,
he deſired him to torment one *Elizabeth*
*Hill*, and to thruſt Thorns into her fleſh,
which he promiſed to do, and the next
ime he appeared, he told her he had
done it.

That a little above a Month ſince this Ex-
aminant, *Alice Duke*, *Anne Biſhop* and *Mary*
*Penny*, met about nine of the Clock in the
Night, in the Common near *Triſter* Gate,
where they met a Man in black Clothes with
a little Band, to whom they did Courteſie
and due obſervance, and the Examinant ve-
rily believes that this was the Devil. At
that time *Alice Duke* brought a Picture in
Wax, which was for *Elizabeth Hill*. The
Man in black took it in his Arms, anoint-

ed

ed its Fore-head, and ſaid, *I Baptize thee with this Oyl*, and uſed ſome other words. He was Godfather, and the Examinant and *Anne Biſhop* Godmothers. They called it *Elizabeth* or *Beſs*. Then the Man in Black, this Examinant, *Anne Biſhop*, and *Alice Duke* ſtuck Thorns into ſeveral places of the Neck, Hand-wriſts, Fingers, and other parts of the ſaid Picture. After which they had Wine, Cakes and Roaſtmeat (all brought by the Man in black) which they did eat and drink. They danced and were merry, were bodily there, and in their Clothes.

She further ſaith, that the ſame perſons met again, at or near the ſame place about a Month ſince, when *Anne Biſhop* brought a Picture in Wax, which was Baptized *John*, in like manner as the other was, the Man in black was Godfather, and *Alice Duke* and this Examinant Godmothers. As ſoon as it was Baptized, *Anne Biſhop* ſtuck two Thorns into the Arms of the Picture, which was for one *Robert Newman*'s Child of *Wincaunton*. After they had eaten, drank, danced and made merry, they departed.

That ſhe with *Anne Biſhop*, and *Alice Duke* met at another time in the Night, in a ground near *Marnhul*, where alſo met ſeveral other perſons. The Devil then alſo there in the former ſhape, Baptized a Picture by the name of *Anne* or *Rachel Hatcher*.

The

The Picture one *Durnford*'s Wife brought, and ſtuck Thorns in it. Then they alſo made merry with Wine and Cakes, and ſo departed.

She ſaith, before they are carried to their meetings, they anoint their Foreheads, and Hand-wriſts with an Oyl the Spirit brings them (which ſmells raw) and then they are carried in a very ſhort time, uſing theſe words as they paſs, *Thout, tout a tout, tout, throughout and about.* And when they go off from their Meetings, they ſay, *Rentum Tormentum.*

That at their firſt meeting, the Man in black bids them welcome, and they all make low obeyſance to him, and he delivers ſome Wax Candles like little Torches, which they give back again at parting. When they anoint themſelves, they uſe a long form of words, and when they ſtick in Thorns into the Picture of any they would torment they ſay, *A Pox on thee, I'le ſpite thee.*

That at every meeting before the Spirit vaniſheth away, he appoints the next meeting place and time, and at his departure there is a foul ſmell. At their meeting they have uſually Wine or good Beer, Cakes, Meat or the like. They eat and drink really when they meet in their bodies, dance alſo and have Muſick. The Man in black ſits at the higher end, and *Anne Biſhop* uſually

ally next him. He uſeth ſome words before meat, and none after, his voice is audible but very low.

That they are carried ſometimes in their Bodies and their Clothes, ſometimes without, and as the Examinant thinks their Bodies are ſometimes left behind. When only their Spirits are preſent, yet they know one another.

When they would bewitch Man, Woman or Child, they do it ſometimes by a *Picture* made in Wax, which the Devil formally Baptizeth. Sometimes they have an *Apple*, *Diſh*, *Spoon* or other thing, from their evil Spirit, which they give the party to whom they would do harm. Upon which they have power to hurt the perſon that eats or receives it. Sometimes they have power to do miſchief by a touch or curſe, by theſe they can miſchief Cattle, and by curſing without touching; but neither without the Devils leave.

That ſhe hath been at ſeveral general meetings in the night at High Common, and a Common near *Motcombe*, at a place near *Marnhull*, and at other places where have met *John Combes*, *John Vining*, *Richard Dickes*, *Thomas Boſter* or *Bolſter*, *Thomas Dunning*, *James Baſh* a lame Man, *Rachel King*, *Richard Lannen*, a Woman called *Durnford*, *Alice Duke*, *Anne Biſhop*, *Mary Penny* and *Chriſtopher*

*hriſtopher Ellen*, all which did obeyſance to he Man in black, who was at every one of heir meetings. Uſually they have at them ome Picture Baptized.

The Man in black, ſometimes playes n a Pipe or Cittern, and the compay dance. At laſt the the Devil vaniſhth, and all are carried to their ſeveral omes in a ſhort ſpace. At their partng they ſay [*A Boy! merry meet, merry art.*]

That the reaſon why ſhe cauſed *Elizaeth Hill* to be the more tormented was, ecauſe her Father had ſaid, ſhe was a Witch. That ſhe has ſeen *Alice Dukes* Familiar ſuck her, in the ſhape of a Cat, nd *Anne Biſhops* ſuck her in the ſhape of a Rat.

That ſhe never heard the name of God r Jeſus Chriſt mentioned at any of their eetings.

That *Anne Biſhop*, about five years and half ſince, did bring a Picture in Wax o their meeting, which was Baptized by he Man in black, and called *Peter*. It was for *Robert Newman*'s Child at *Wincaunton*.

That ſome two years ago, ſhe gave two pples to *Agnes Vining*, late Wife of *Richard ining*, and that ſhe had one of the Apples rom the Devil, who then appeared to her

and

and told, *That Apple would do* Vining's *Wives businesse.*

Taken in the presence of several grave and Orthodox Divines before me

*Robert Hunt*

6. Exam. *William Parsons* Rector of *Stoke Trister*, Examined *Feb.* 7. 1664. before *Robert Hunt* Esq; concerning *Elizabeth Style*'s confession, saith, That he heard *Style* before the Justice of Peace, at the time of her Examination confess, as she hath done also to the Examinant several times since, that she was in Covenant with the Devil, that she had signed it with her Blood, that she had been with the Devil at several meetings in the night, that at one time of those meetings there was brought a Picture in blackish Wax, which the Devil in the shape of a Man in blackish Clothes, did Baptize by the name of *Eliz. Hill*, that she did stick in one Thorn into the Hand-wrists of the Picture that *Alice Duke* stuck Thorns into the same and that *Anne Bishop* and *Mary Penny* were present at that meeting with the Devil.

Taken upon Oath before me

*Robert Hunt*

Subscribed,

*William Parsons* Rector of *Stoke Trister*

This

This Confeſſion of *Styles* was free and un-
rced, without any torturing or watching,
awn from her by a gentle Examination,
eeting with the Convictions of a guilty
onſcience. She confeſſeth that ſhe deſired
e Devil to torment *Eliz. Hill*, by thruſting
horns into her fleſh, which he promiſed,
d ſaid he had done it. That a Picture
as Baptized for her the ſaid *Elizabeth*, and
at She, the Familiar, and *Alice Duke* ſtuck
horns into ſeveral places of the Neck,
and-wriſts, Fingers and other parts there-
, which exactly agrees with the ſtrange
fects related, concerning the torments the
hild ſuffered, and this miſchief ſhe confeſ-
th ſhe did, becauſe her Father ſaid ſhe was
Witch. She confeſſeth ſhe gave two
pples to *Vinings* Wife, one of which ſhe
ad from the Devil, who ſaid it would do
e buſineſs, which ſutes alſo with the Te-
imony of *Vining* concerning his Wife.

She confeſſeth further, That the Devil
eth to ſuck her in the Poll, about four a
lock in the Morning, in the Form of a
ly like a Millar, concerning which, let us
ear Teſtimony (the other particulars of her
onfeſſion we ſhall conſider as occaſion
ffers.)

7. Exam. *Nicholas Lambert* Examined a-
ain *Jan.* 26. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Eſq;
oncerning what happened after *Styles* con-
feſſion,

feſſion, teſtifyeth, That *Eliz. Style* having been Examined before the Juſtice, made her Confeſſion, and committed to the Officer; the Juſtice required this Examinant, *William Thick* and *William Read* of *Bayford* to watch her, which they did; and this Informant ſitting near *Style* by the fire, and reading in the *Practice of Piety*, about Three of the Clock in the Morning, there came from her Head a gliſtering bright Fly, about an Inch in length, which pitched at firſt in the Chimney, and then vaniſhed. In leſs than a quarter of an hour after, there appeared two Flies more of a leſs ſize, and another colour, which ſeemed to ſtrike at the Examinants hand, in which he held his Book but miſſed it, the one going over, the other under at the ſame time. He looking ſtedfaſtly then on *Style*, perceived her countenance to change, and to become very black and gaſtly, the fire alſo at the ſame time changing its colour; whereupon the Examinant, *Thick* and *Read* conceiving that her Familiar was then about her, looked to her Poll, and ſeeing her Hair ſhake very ſtrangely took it up, and then a Fly like a great Millar flew out from the place, and pitched on the Table-board, and then vaniſhed away. Upon this the Examinant, and the other two perſons looking again in *Styles* Poll, found it very red and

raw Beef. The Examinant askt her
at it was that went out of her Poll, she
it was a Burterfly, and askt them why
y had not caught it. *Lambert* said, they
ld not. I think so too, answered she. A
e while after, the Informant and the o-
rs looking again into her Poll, found
place to be of its former colour. The
minant demanding again what the Fly
, she confessed it was her Familiar, and
she felt it tickle in her Poll, and that
the usual time when her Familiar came
er.

Taken upon Oath before me

*Robert Hunt.*

Exam. *Eliz. Torwood* of *Bayford*, Exa-
ed *Feb.* 7. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Esq;
cerning the mark found about *Eliz. Style*
her Confession, Deposeth, That she to-
er with *Catharine White*; *Mary Day*, *Ma-*
*lster*, and *Bridget Prankard*, did a little
*Christmas* last, search *Eliz. Style*, and
in her Poll they found a little rising
h felt hard like a Kernel of Beef, where-
they suspecting it to be an ill mark,
t a Pin into it, and having drawn it
thrust it in again the second time,
ng it sticking in the flesh for some time,
the other Women might also see it.

Notwithſtanding which, *Style* did neither at the firſt or ſecond time make the leaſt ſhew that ſhe felt any thing. But after, when the Conſtable told her he would thruſt in a Pin to the place, and made a ſhew as if he did, O Lord, ſaid ſhe, do you prick me, whenas no one then touched her.

The Examinant further ſaith, that *Style* hath ſince confeſſed to her, that her Familiar did uſe to ſuck her in the place mentioned, in the ſhape of a great Millar or Butterfly.

*Catharine White*, *Mary Day*, *Mary Bolſter* and *Bridget Prankard* do ſay, that the above-ſaid Examination of *Eliz. Torwood* is truth.

Taken upon Oath before me

*Rob. Hunt.*

RELAT

## RELAT. IV.

*hich is the Examination and Confeſſion of* Alice Duke, *alias* Manning (*another Witch of* Styles *Knot*) *of* Wincaunton, *in the County of* Somerſet *Widdow, taken* Jan. 27. *and* Feb. 2. 7. 10. 21. An. 1664. *before* Robert Hunt *Eſq.*

THe Examinant ſaith, That when ſhe li-
ved with *Anne Biſhop* of *Wincaunton*, a-
out Eleven or Twelve years ago, *Anne*
*iſhop* perſwaded her to go with her into the
hurch-yard in the night-time, and being
me thither, to go backward round the
hurch, which they did three times. In
eir firſt round, they met a Man in black
lothes, who went round the ſecond time
ith them, and then they met a thing in
e ſhape of a great black Toad, which leapt
againſt the Examinants Apron. In their
rd round they met ſomewhat in the ſhape
a Rat, which vaniſhed away. After this
e Examinant and *Anne Biſhop* went home,
t before *Anne Biſhop* went off, the Man in
ck ſaid ſomewhat to her ſoftly, which
e Informant could not hear.

A few days after, *Anne Biſhop* ſpeaking

about their going round the Church, told the Examinant, that now she might have her desire, and what she would wish for. And shortly after, the Devil appeared to her in the shape of a Man, promising that she should want nothing, and that if she cursed any thing with *A Pox take it*, she should have her purpose, in case she would give her Soul to him, suffer him to suck her Blood, keep his Secrets, and be his instrument to do such mischief as he would set her about. All which, upon his second appearing to her, she yielded to, and the Devil having prickt the fourth finger of her right hand between the middle and upper joynt (where the mark is yet to be seen) gave her a Pen, with which she made a croſs or mark with her Blood on Paper or Parchment, that the Devil offered her for the confirmation of the Agreement, which was done in the presence of *Anne Bishop*. And as soon as the Examinant had signed it, the Devil gave her Sixpence, and went away with the Paper or Parchment.

Further she confesseth, That she hath been at several meetings in *Lie* Common and other places in the night, and that her Forehead being first anointed with a Feather dipt in Oyl, she hath been suddenly carried to the place of their meeting. That about five or six Weeks since (or more) she met

n the ſaid Common in the night, where were preſent *Anne Biſhop*, *Mary Penny* of *Vincaunton*, *Elizabeth Style* of *Bayford*, and a Man in black Clothes with a little Band, whom ſhe ſuppoſeth to have been the Devil. At the meeting there was a Picture n Wax, which the Man in black took in his Arms, and having anointed its Forehead with a little greeniſh Oyl, and uſing a few words, Baptized it by the name of *Elizabeth* r *Beſs Hill*, for the Daughter of *Richard Hill*. Then the Devil, this Examinant, *Anne Biſhop*, and *Elizabeth Style* ſtuck Thorns in he Neck, Head, Hand-wriſts, Fingers and ther parts of the Picture, Saying, *A Pox n thee, I'le ſpite thee.* This done, all ſate lown, a white Cloth being ſpread on the ground, and did drink Wine, and eat Cakes nd Meat. After all was ended, the Man in lack vaniſhed, leaving an ugly ſmell at parting. The reſt were on a ſudden con-veighed to their homes.

On *Monday* night after *Chriſtmas* day laſt, he met the ſame Company again, near about the ſame place, and then *Anne Biſhop* who was there in a green Apron, a French Waſtcoat and a red Petticoat) brought in her Apron a Picture in blackiſh Wax, which he Devil Baptized as before, by the name f *John Newman*, for the Son of *Rob. Newan* of *Wincaunton*, and then the Devil firſt,

after *Anne Biſhop* and this Examinant thru in Thorns into the Picture, *Anne Biſh* ſticking in two Thorns into the Arms of it The Picture *Anne Biſhop* carried away wit her. They were all there preſent in the Clothes, and the Devil in the ſhape of Man in black.

About Five years and a half ſince, th ſame perſons were at the Baptizing of ano ther Image, by the name of *Peter Newman* another Son of *Robert Newman*, both which are ſince dead, and then *Anne Biſhop* deſire the Examinant to joyn with her in bewitch ing of *Peter* and *John Newman*.

At another time ſhe was carried to meeting in the night, to a green place nea *Marnhull* as ſhe was then told, where wer preſent *Anne Biſhop*, *Eliz. Style*, *Mary Penn* and ſome unknown to her. Then alſo a Image in Wax was Baptized by the Devil in the fore-related manner, by the name o *Anne* or *Rachel Hatcher* one of *Marnhull*, as ſh was then informed. After the Ceremon was ended, they had Wine, Cakes, *&c.*

She likewiſe confeſſeth, that ſhe was a another ſuch meeting, where twelve per ſons were preſent, many of whom were un known to her, but ſhe took notice of on lame Man in blackiſh Hair among them and of the Devil as before.

She ſaith that after their meetings, they all make very low obeyſances to the *Devil*, who appears in black Clothes and a little Band. He bids them welcome at their coming, and brings Wine or Beer, Cakes, Meat, or the like. He ſits at the higher end, and uſually *Anne Biſhop* ſits next him. They eat, drink, dance, and have Muſick. At their parting they uſe to ſay, *Merry meet merry part*, and that before they are carried to their meetings, their Foreheads are anointed with greeniſh Oyl that they have from the Spirit which ſmells raw. They for the moſt part are carried in the Air. As they paſs, they ſay, *Thout, tout a tout, tout, throughout and about.* Paſſing back they ſay, *Rentum Tormentum*, and another word which ſhe doth not remember.

She confeſſeth that her Familiar doth commonly ſuck her right Breaſt about ſeven at night, in the ſhape of a little Cat of a dunniſh colour, which is as ſmooth as a Want, and when ſhe is ſuckt, ſhe is in a kind of a Trance.

That ſhe hurt *Thomas Garret*'s Cowes, becauſe he refuſed to write a Petition for her.

That ſhe hurt *Thomas Conway*, by putting a Diſh into his Hand, which Diſh ſhe had from the Devil, ſhe gave it him to give his Daughter for good hanſel.

That ſhe hurt *Dorothy* the Wife of *George Vining*, by giving an Iron ſlate to put into her ſteeling Box.

That being angry with *Edith Watts*, the Daughter of *Edmond Watts* for treading on her Foot, ſhe curſed *Edith* with a *Pox on you*, and after touched her, which hath done the ſaid *Edith* much harm, for which ſhe is ſorry.

That being provoked by *Swanton*'s firſt Wife, ſhe did before her death curſe her, with a *Pox on you*, believes ſhe did thereby hurt her, but denies ſhe did bewitch Mr. *Swanton*'s Cattle.

She ſaith, That when the Devil doth any thing for her, ſhe calls for him by the name of *Robin*, upon which he appears, and when in the ſhape of a Man, ſhe can hear him ſpeak, but his voice is very low. He promiſed her when ſhe made her contract with him, that ſhe ſhould want nothing, but ever ſince ſhe hath wanted all things.

Taken before me

*Rob. Hunt.*

1. Exam. *Thomas Conway* of *Wincaunton*, in the County of *Somerſet*, Examined *Feb.* 12. 1664. before *Robert Hunt* Eſquire, concerning *Alice Duke*, informeth, That about Twelve Months ſince *Alice Duke* alias *Manning*, brought a little Pewter Diſh to this Infor-

formant, and told him it was good han-
for his Daughter. The Examinant wil-
d the ſaid *Alice* to carry it to her, ſhe be-
g within by the fire, but ſhe forced the
iſh into his hand and went away. Shortly
er he was taken extreamly ill in all his
mbs. Of which illneſs the Phyſicians,
hom he applied himſelf to, could give no
count. When ſhe went from him, ſhe
as very angry and muttered much, becauſe
would not ſign a Petition on her behalf.
he hath confeſſed to him ſince that ſhe had
e Diſh from the Devil, and gave it to him
purpoſe to hurt him. He hath been,
d is ſince in great torment, and much
eakned and waſted in his Body, which
imputes to the evil practices of *Alice*
*uke*.

Taken upon Oath before me

*Rob. Hunt.*

2. Exam. *Mary* the Wife of *Tho. Conway*, Examined *March* 6. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Eſq; concerning *Alice Duke*, ſaith, That her Husband *Tho. Conway* about a year ago delivered her a little Pewter Diſh, telling her he had it from *Alice Duke* for good hanel for his Daughter, who had lately lain in. n this Diſh ſhe warmed a little Deer-ſewet nd Roſe-water, anointing her Daughters Nipples

Nipples with it, which put her to extrea pain. Upon which ſuſpecting harm fro the diſh, ſhe put it into the fire, which the preſently vaniſhed and nothing of it coul afterwards be found. After, when ſh anointed her Daughters Nipples with th ſame Deer-ſewet and Roſe-water, warme in a ſpoon, ſhe complained not of any pai She further ſaith, That her Husband afte he had received the diſh from the hands o *Alice Duke*, was taken ill in all his Limbs, an held for a long time in a very ſtrang manner.

Taken upon Oath before me
*Rob. Hunt*

3. Exam. *Edward Watts* of *Wincaunton*, in the County of *Somerſet*, Examined *Mar.* 6. 1664: before *Robert Hunt*, Eſq; concerning *Alice Duke*, ſaith, That he hath a Child called *Edith*, about Ten years of Age, who for the ſpace of half a year hath languiſhed and pined away, and that ſhe told him that treading one day on the Toe of *Alice Duke*, ſhe in great anger curſed her with *a Pox on thee*, and that from that time the Child began to be ill and to pine away, which ſhe hath done ever ſince.

Taken upon Oath before me
*Rob. Hunt.*

A D.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*Besides the plain agreement betwixt the witnesses, and the Witches own Confession, it may be worth the taking notice here, how well her confession of having her Familiar suck her in the shape of a* Cat, *agrees with* Eliz. Style's *Confession, that she had seen* Alice Dukes *Familiar suck her in that shape. As also how the bewitching of* Edward Watts's *Child by* Alice Duke *her saying*, a Pox on her, *agrees with the promise of the Devil to her, which is expresly*, That if she cursed any thing with a Pox take it, she should have her purpose. *She also testifying of the Baptizing the Image of* Eliz. Hill, *and of those forms of words*, Thout, tout a tout, *and* Rentum Tormentum *at their going to their meetings and departing, plainly shews that these things are not transacted in dreams but in reality. The Devil also as in other stories leaving an ill smell behind him, seems to imply the reality of the business, those ascititious particles he held together in his visible vehicle, being loosened at his vanishing, and so offending the nostrils by their floating and diffusing themselves in the open Air.*

## RELAT. V.

*Which is the Examination and Confession of* Chriſtian Green, *Aged about thirty three years, Wife of* Rob. Green *of* Brewham, *in the County of* Somerſet, *taken before* Rob. Hunt, *Eſq;* March 2. 1664.

THis Examinant ſaith, That about a year and a half ſince (ſhe being in great poverty) one *Catharine Green* of *Brewham*, told her, that if ſhe would ſhe might be in a better condition, and then perſwaded her to make a Covenant with the Devil. Being afterwards together in one Mr. *Huſſey*'s Ground in *Brewham* Forreſt about Noon, *Catharine* called for the Devil, who appeared in the ſhape of a Man in blackiſh Clothes, and ſaid ſomewhat to *Catharine* which *Chriſtian* could not hear. After which the Devil (as ſhe conceived him) told the Examinant that ſhe ſhould want neither Clothes, Victuals, nor Money, if ſhe would give her Body and Soul to him, keep his ſecrets, and ſuffer him to ſuck her once in twenty four hours, which at laſt upon his and *Catharine Greens* perſwaſion ſhe yielded to; then the Man in black prickt the fourth

finger

finger of her Right-hand between the middle and upper joints, where the ſign yet remains, and took two drops of her blood on his finger, giving her fourpence halfpenny, with which ſhe after bought Bread in *Brewham*. Then he ſpake again in private with *Catharine* and vaniſhed, leaving a ſmell of Brimſtone behind.

Since that time the Devil (ſhe ſaith) hath and doth uſually ſuck her left Breſt about five of the Clock in the Morning in the likeneſs of an *Hedg-hog*, bending, and did ſo on *Wedneſday* Morning laſt. She ſaith it is painful to her, and that ſhe is uſually in a trance when ſhe is ſuckt.

She ſaith alſo, that *Catharine Green*, and *Margaret Agar* of *Brewham*, have told her that they are in Covenant with the Devil, and confeſſeth that ſhe hath been at ſeveral meetings in the Night in *Brewham* Common, and in a Ground of Mr. *Huſſey*'s, that ſhe hath there met with *Catharine Green* and *Margaret Agar*, and three or four times with *Mary Warberton* of *Brewham*, That in all thoſe meetings the Devil hath been preſent in the ſhape of a Man in black Clothes. At their firſt coming he bids them welcome, but always ſpeaks *very low*.

That at a meeting about three weeks or a Month ſince at or near the former place, *Margaret Agar* brought thither an Image in Wax,

Wax, for *Elizabeth* the Wife of *Andrew Corniſh* of *Brewham*, and the Devil in the ſhape of a Man in black Clothes did Baptize it, and after ſtuck a Thorn into its Head; that *Agar* ſtuck one into its Stomach, and *Catharine Green* one into its ſide. She further ſaith, that before this time, *Agar* ſaid to her this Examinant, that ſhe would hurt *Eliz. Corniſh*, who ſince the Baptizing of the Picture hath been taken and continues very ill.

She ſaith, that three or four days before *Jvſ. Talbot* of *Brewham* dyed, *Margaret Agar* told her that ſhe would rid him out of the World, becauſe being Overſeer of the Poor he made her Children go to Service, and refuſed to give them ſuch good Clothes as ſhe deſired. And ſince the Death of *Talbot*, ſhe confeſſed to the Examinant, that ſhe had bewitcht him to Death. He dyed about a year ſince, was taken ill on *Friday*, and dyed about *Wedneſday* after.

That her Mother-in-Law *Catharine Green*, about five or ſix years ago was taken in a ſtrange manner. One day one Eye and Cheek did ſwell, another day another, and ſo ſhe continued in great pain, till ſhe dyed. Upon her Death ſhe ſeveral times ſaid in the hearing of the Examinant, that her Siſter-in-Law *Catharine Green* had bewitched her, and the Examinant believes that ſhe bewitcht her to Death.

That

That a little before *Michaelmas* laſt, the ſaid *Catharine* curſed the Horſes of *Rob. Walter* of *Brewham*, ſaying, A Murrain on them Horſes to Death. Upon which the Horſes being three, all dyed.

Taken before me

*Rob. Hunt.*

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## RELAT. VI.

*Containing further Teſtimonies of the villainous feats of that rampant hagg* Margaret Agar *of* Brewham, *in the County of* Somerſet.

1. Exam. ELizabeth *Talbot* of *Brewham*, Examined *March* 7. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; ſaith, That about three weeks before her Father *Joſ. Talbot* dyed, *Margaret Agar* fell out with him, becauſe he being Overſeer for the Poor, did require *Agar*'s Daughter to go to Service, and ſaid to him, that he was proud of his living, but ſwore by the blood of the Lord, that he ſhould not long enjoy it. Within three weeks of which he was ſuddainly taken in his body as if he had been ſtabb'd with Daggers, and ſo continued four or five days in great pain and then dyed.

*Rob. Hunt.*

2. Ex-

2. Exam. *Joſ. Smith* of *Brewham*, Huſbandman, Examined *March* 15. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; ſaith, That ſome few days before *Joſ. Talbot* dyed, he heard *Margaret Agar* rail very much at him, becauſe he had cauſed her Daughter to go to Service, and ſaid, that he ſhould not keep his living but be drawn out upon four Mens ſhoulders. That ſhe ſhould tread upon his jaws, and ſee the graſs grow over his head, which ſhe ſwore by the blood of the Lord.

Taken upon Oath before
*Rob. Hunt*

3. Exam. *Mary* the Wife of *William Smith* of *Brewham*, Examined *March* 8. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; ſaith, That about two years ſince *Margaret Agar* came to her and called her Whore, adding, *A Plague take you for an old Whore*, I ſhall live to ſee thee rot on the Earth before I die, and thy Cows ſhall fall and die at my feet. A ſhort time after which, ſhe had three Cows that died very ſtrangely, and two of them at the door of *Margaret Agar*. And ever ſince the Examinant hath conſumed and pined away, her Body and her Bowels rotting, and ſhe verily believes that her Cattle and her ſelf were bewitcht by *Agar*.

Taken upon Oath before
*Rob. Hunt*

4. Exam

4. Exam. *Catharine Green* alias *Corniſh* of *Brewham*, Widow, Examined *May* 16. 1665. before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; ſaith, That on *Friday* in the Evening, in the beginning of *March* laſt, *Margaret Agar* came to her, and was earneſt ſhe ſhould go with her to a Ground called *Huſſeys-knap*, which ſhe did, and being come thither they ſaw a little Man in black Clothes with a little band. As ſoon as they came to him *Margaret Agar* took out of her lap a little Picture in blackiſh Wax, which ſhe delivered to the Man in black, who ſtuck a Thorn into the Crown of the Picture, and then delivered it back to *Agar*. Upon which ſhe ſtuck a Thorn towards the heart of the Picture; Curſing and ſaying, *a Plague on you*; which ſhe told the Examinant was done to hurt *Eliz. Corniſh*, who as ſhe hath been told hath been very ill ever ſince that time.

That a little above a year ſince *Joſ. Talbot* late of *Brewham*, being Overſeer for the Poor, did cauſe two of *Agar*'s Children to go to Service. Upon which ſhe was very angry and ſaid in the Examinants hearing a few days before he fell ſick and died, that ſhe had trod upon the jaws of three of her Enemies, and that ſhe ſhould ſhortly ſee *Talbot* rot and tread on his jaws. And when this Examinant deſired her not to hurt *Talbot*, ſhe ſwore by the blood of the Lord, ſhe

would confound him if ſhe could. The day before he dyed, ſhe ſaid to the Examinant, Gods wounds I'le go and ſee him, for I ſhall never ſee him more; and the next day *Talbot* dyed.

That ſhe heard *Margaret Agar* curſe *Mary Smith*, and ſay, ſhe ſhould live to ſee her and her Cattle fall and rot before her face.

Taken upon Oath before

*Rob. Hunt.*

5. Exam. *Mary Green* of *Brewham*, ſingle Woman, Examined *June* 3. 1665. before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; ſaith, That about a Month before *Joſ. Talbot* late of *Brewham* dyed, *Margaret Agar* fell out with him about the putting out of her Child to Service. After that ſhe ſaw a Picture in Clay or Wax in the hands of *Agar*, which ſhe ſaid was for *Talbot*, the Picture ſhe ſaw her deliver in *Redmore*, to the Fiend in the ſhape of a Man in black about an hour in the Night, who ſtuck a Thorn in or near the Heart of it, *Agar* ſtuck another in the Breaſt, and *Catharine Green*, *Alice Green*, *Mary Warberton*, *Henry Walter* and *Chriſtian Green*, all of *Brewham*, were then and there preſent, and did all ſtick Thorns into the Picture.

A

At that time *Catharine Green* ſpake to *Agar* not to hurt *Talbot*, becauſe ſhe received ſomewhat from him often times, but *Agar* replied, by the Lords blood ſhe would confound him, or words to that purpoſe.

That a little before *Talbot* was taken ſick, *Agar* being in the houſe where the Examinant lived, ſwore that ſhe ſhould e're long tread upon his jaws. And that if *Talbot* made her Daughter go to Service for a year, yet if ſhe came home in a quarter it would be time enough to ſee him carried out upon four Mens ſhoulders and to tread upon his jaws.

That on the day *Talbot* dyed, ſhe heard *Agar* ſwear that ſhe had now plagued *Talbot*; and that being in company with her ſome time before, and ſeeing a dead Horſe of *Talbot*'s drawn along by another of his Horſes, ſhe ſwore that that Horſe ſhould be alſo drawn out to morrow, and the next day ſhe ſaw the well Horſe alſo drawn out dead.

That above a Month before *Margaret Agar* was ſent to Gaol, ſhe ſaw her, *Henry Walter*, *Catharine Green*, *Jone Syms*, *Chriſtian Green*, *Mary Warberton* and others, meet at a place called *Huſſeys-knap* in the Forreſt in the Night time, where met them the Fiend in the ſhape of a little Man in black Clothes with a littleband, to him all made obeyſances,

and at that time a Picture in Wax or Clay was delivered by *Agar* to the Man in black, who ſtuck a Thorn into the Crown of it, *Margaret Agar* one towards the Breaſt, *Catharine Green* in the ſide; after which *Agar* threw down the Picture and ſaid, there is *Corniſhes* Picture with a Murrain to it, or Plague on it. And that at both the meetings there was a noiſom ſmell of Brimſtone.

That about two years ſince in the Night there met in the ſame place *Agar*, *Henry Walter*, *Catharine Green*, *Jone Syms*, *Alice Green* and *Mary Warberton*. Then alſo *Margaret Agar* delivered to the little Man in black a Picture in Wax, into which he and *Agar* ſtuck Thorns, and *Henry Walter* thruſt his Thumb into the ſide of it. Then they threw it down and ſaid, there is *Dick Greens* Picture with *a Pox in't*. A ſhort time after which *Rich. Green* was taken ill and dyed.

Further he ſaith, That on *Thurſday* Night before Whitſunday laſt, about the ſame place met *Catharine Green*, *Alice Green*, *Jone Syms*, *Mary Warberton*, *Dinah* and *Dorothy Warberton* and *Henry Walter*, and being met they called out *Robin*. Upon which inſtantly appeared a little Man in black Clothes to whom all made obeyſance, and the little Man put his hand to his Hat, ſaying, How

do

do ye? ſpeaking *low* but *big*. Then all made low obeyſances to him again. That ſhe hath ſeen *Margaret Clark* twice at the meetings, but ſince *Margaret Agar* was ſent to Priſon ſhe never ſaw her there.

Taken before me

*Rob. Hunt.*

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*Before we paſs to other* Relations, *it will not be amiſs further to remark upon theſe taken out of the Examinations of Mr.* Hunt: *From the poiſoned Apples that* Jane Brooks *gave to* Rich. Jones, *and* Eliz. Style *to* Agnes Vining, *and the poiſoned Pewter-diſh that* Alice Duke *put into the hands of* Thomas Conway, *(which diſh and apples they had from the Devil) we may obſerve in what a peculiar ſenſe Witches and Wizzards are called* φαρμακοὶ, Venefici *and* Veneficæ, Poyſoners. *Not that they miſchieve People ordinarily by natural Poiſons, as Arſenick and the like, but rather by ſome helliſh malignancy infuſed into things by the art and malice of the Devil, or by the ſteams of their own Body which the Devil ſucks. For the hand of* Jane Brooks *ſtroaking down* Rich. Jones *his ſide impreſſed a pain thereon.*

*We may obſerve alſo what an eximious Example of* Moſes *his* Mecaſſephah (*the word which he uſes in that Law*, Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to live) Margaret Agar *is, and how fitly ſome interpreters render* Mecaſſephim, Maleſici, *from the great miſchief they do and delight in. And what a great credit this* Agar *is to* J. Webſter, *and the reſt of the Hagg-advocates, which would make them to be meer couzening Queans or Melancholick Fopps that had nothing to do with the Devil. As if the Man in black and a little band were but ſuch another as* J. Webſter, *or any other Hagg-advocate that in waggery acted the part of the Devil in* Huffeys *Knap, or any ſuch like place of a Forreſt, and ſo after all quickly and ſuddainly recoiling behind a buſh and letting fly into the wind, the deluded Haggs took it for the vaniſhing of the very Fiend and his perfuming the Air with the ſmell of Brimſtone. One that can reſolve all the feats of the* Hartummim *of* Egypt *into tricks of Legerdemain, cannot be eaſily delude the company with ſuch a feat as this, the old Wives being thick of hearing and carrying their ſpectacles not on their noſes but in their pockets?*

*And laſtly from the Devils covenanting with the Witches for their Souls, it may be obſerved that the old Haggs dealing* bonâ fidde, *and thinking they have Souls ſurviving their bodies, are better Philoſophers than the huffy Wits of our Age that deny diſtinction of Soul and Body.*

*But*

*But if they have not (as these Huffers would have it) and the Haggs think so themselves, it is a pretty Paradox that these old Fopps should be able to outwit the very Devil; who does not in bartering for their Bodies and Souls buy a Pig in a poke, as the Proverb is, but a poke without a Pig. But I rather believe that these huffing Wits, as high as they are, may learn one true point of Philosophy from these Haggs and their Familiars; these evil Spirits certainly making their bargains wisely enough in covenanting for the Witches Soul. Which clause if it were not expresst, the Soul were free from the Familiars jurisdiction after death. Wherefore it is no contemptible argument these evil Spirits covenanting for the* Soul *of the Witch, that they know the Soul survives the Body, and therefore make their bargain sure for the possession of it as their* Peculium *after death. Otherwise if the Soul were mortal they would tell the Witches so, the more easily to precipitate them into all wickedness, and make them more eager by their ministry to enjoy this present life. But this Doctrine is inconsistent with the form of his Covenant, whereby they are assured to him after death.*

## RELAT. VII.

*Touching* Florence Newton *an Iriſh Witch of* Youghal, *taken out of her Trial at the Aſſizes held for the County of* Corke, *Sept.* 11. *Ann.* 1661.

THis *Florence Newton* was committed to *Youghall* Priſon, by the Major of the Town, *March* 24. 1661. for bewitching *Mary Longdon*, who gave evidence againſt her at *Cork* Aſſizes, as follows. *Mary Longdon* being ſworn and examined what ſhe could ſay againſt the ſaid *Florence Newton* for any practice of Witchcraft upon her ſelf, and being bidden to look on the Priſoner, her countenance changed pale, and ſhe was very fearful to look towards her, but at laſt ſhe did. And being askt whether ſhe knew her, ſhe ſaid ſhe did, and wiſht ſhe never had. Being askt how long ſhe had known her, ſhe ſaid for three or four years. And that at *Chriſtmas* laſt the ſaid *Florence* came to the Deponent, at the Houſe of *John Pyne* in *Youghall*, where the Deponent was a Servant. And askt the Deponent to give her a piece of Beef out of the Powdering-Tub. And the Deponent anſwering her, that ſhe could

not

not give away her Masters Beef, she said *Florence* seemed to be very angry, and said, thou hadst as good have given it me, and so went away grumbling.

That about a week after, the Deponent being going to the Water with a Pail of Cloth on her head, she met the said *Florence Newton*, who came full in her face, and threw the Pail off her Head, and violently kist her, and said, *Mary*, I pray thee, let thee and I be friends, for I bear thee no ill will, and I pray thee do thou bear me none. And that she the Deponent went afterwards home, and that within a few days after, she saw a Woman with a Vail over her face, stand by her Bed-side, and one standing by her like a little Old Man in silk Clothes, and that this Man which she took to be a Spirit, drew the Vail from off the Womans face, and then she knew it to be Goody *Newton*, and that the Spirit spake to the Deponent, and would have had her promise him to follow his advice, and she should have all things after her own heart, to which she says, she answered, that she would have nothing to say to him, for her trust was in the Lord.

That within a Month after the said *Florence* had kist her, she this Deponent fell very ill of Fits or Trances, which would take her on the sudden, in that violence

that

that three or four Men could not hold her. And in her Fits ſhe would often be taken with Vomitings, and would Vomit up Needles, Pins, Horſe-nails, Stubbs, Wooll and Straw, and that very often. And being asked whether ſhe perceived at theſe times what ſhe Vomited? ſhe ſaid ſhe did. For then ſhe was not in ſo great diſtraction as in other parts of her fits ſhe was. And that a little before the firſt beginning of her fits, ſeveral (and very many) ſmallſtones would fall upon her as ſhe went up and down, and would follow her from place to place, and from one room to another, and would hit her on the head, ſhoulders, and arms, and fall to the ground and vaniſh away. And that ſhe and ſeveral others would ſee them both fall upon her, and on the ground, but could never take them, ſave onely ſome few, which ſhe and her Maſter caught in their hands. Amongſt which one that had a hole in it ſhe tied (as ſhe was adviſed) with a Leather thong to her Purſe, but it was vaniſht immediately though the Leather continued tied on a faſt Knot.

That in her fits ſhe often ſaw this *Florence Newton*, and cryed out againſt her for tormenting of her, for ſhe ſays that ſhe would ſeveral times ſtick Pins into her Arms, and ſome of them ſo faſt that a Man muſt pluck

three

three or four times to get out the Pin, and they were ſtuck betwixt the skin and the fleſh. That ſometimes ſhe ſhould be removed out of her bed into another room, ſometimes ſhe ſhould be carried to the top of the houſe laid on a board betwixt two Sollar Beams, ſometimes put into a Cheſt, ſometimes under a parcel of wool, ſometimes betwixt two Feather-beds on which ſhe uſed to lie, and ſometimes betwixt the Bed and the Mat in her Maſters Chamber in the day time. And being asked how ſhe knew ſhe was thus carried about and diſpoſed of, ſeeing in her fits ſhe was in a violent diſtraction: ſhe anſwered, ſhe never knew where ſhe was till they of the Family and the Neighbours with them would be taking her out of the places whither ſhe was ſo carried and removed. And being asked the reaſon wherefore ſhe cryed out ſo much againſt the ſaid *Florence Newton* in her fits: ſhe anſwered, becauſe ſhe ſaw her and felt her torturing.

And being asked how ſhe could think it was *Florence Newton* that did her this prejudice: ſhe ſaid, firſt becauſe ſhe threatned her, then becauſe after ſhe had kiſt her ſhe fell into theſe fits, and that ſhe both ſaw and felt her tormenting. And laſtly, that when the People of the Family by advice of the Neighbours and conſent of the Major, had ſent for *Florence Newton* to come to the

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Deponent, ſhe was always worſe when ſhe was brought unto her, and her fits more violent than at another time. And that after the ſaid *Florence* was committed at *Youghall*, the Deponent was not troubled, but was very well till a little while after the ſaid *Florence* was removed to *Corke*, and then the Deponent was as ill as ever before. And the Major of *Youghall* one Mr. *Mayre*, then ſent to know whether the ſaid *Florence* were bolted (as the Deponent was told) and finding ſhe was not, order was given to put the bolts on her, which being done the Deponent ſaith ſhe was well again, and ſo hath continued ever ſince. And being aſked whether ſhe had ſuch like fits before the ſaid *Florence* gave her the kiſs, ſhe ſaith ſhe never had any, but believes that with that kiſs ſhe bewitcht her, and the rather becauſe ſhe hath heard from *Nicholas Pyne* and others, that the ſaid *Florence* had confeſſed as much.

This *Mary Longdon* having cloſed up her Evidence, *Florence Newton* peep'd at her as it were betwixt the heads of the byſtanders that interpoſed betwixt her and the ſaid *Mary*, and lifting up both her hands together as they were manacled caſt them in an angry violent kind of motion (as was ſeen and obſerved by *W. Aſton*,) towards the ſaid *Mary*, as if ſhe intended to ſtrike at her if ſhe could have reacht her, and ſaid

Now

Now ſhe is down. Upon which the maid fell ſuddainly down to the ground like a ſtone, and fell into a moſt violent fit, that all the People that could come to lay hands on her could ſcarce hold her, ſhe biting her own Arms and ſhreeking out in a moſt hideous manner to the amazement of all the beholders. And continuing ſo for about a quarter of an hour (the ſaid *Florence Newton* ſitting by her ſelf all that while pinching her own Hands and Arms as was ſworn by ſome that obſerved her) the maid was ordered to be carried out of Court and taken into a houſe. Whence ſeveral Perſons after that, brought word that the Maid was in a Vomiting fit, and they brought in ſeveral crooked Pins and Straws and Wool, in white foam like ſpittle in great proportions. Whereupon the Court having taken notice that the Maid had ſaid ſhe had been very well when the ſaid *Florence* was in bolts, and ill again when out of them, till they were again put on her, demanded of the Gaoler if ſhe were in bolts or no, to which he ſaid ſhe was not, but onely manacled. Upon which order was given to put on her bolts, and upon putting them on ſhe cryed out, ſhe was killed, ſhe was undone, ſhe was ſpoiled, why do you torment me thus? and ſo continued complaining grievouſly for half a quarter of an hour. And then

came

came in a Messenger from the Maid and informed the Court the Maid was well. At which *Florence* immediately and cholerickly uttered these words, *She is not well yet.* And being demanded how she knew she was not well yet? she denied she said so, though many in Court heard her say the words, and she said, if she did, she knew not what she said, being old and disquieted and distracted with her sufferings. But the Maid being reasonably well come to her self, was, before the Court knew any thing of it, sent out of Town to *Youghall*, and so was no further Examined by the Court.

The fit of the Maid being urged by the Court with all the Circumstances of it upon *Florence*, to have been a continuance of her Devilish practice, she denied it, and likewise the motion of her hands, or the saying, *Now she is down*, though the Court saw the first, and the words were sworn by one *Roger Moor*. And *Thomas Harrison* swore that he had observed the said *Florence* peep at her and use that motion with her hands, and saw the Maid fall immediately upon that motion, and heard the words, *Now she is down*, uttered.

*Nicholas Stout* was next produced by Mr. Attorney General, who being sworn and Examined said, That he had oft tried her, having heard say that Witches could not say

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the Lords Prayer, whether ſhe could ſay that Prayer or no, and found ſhe could not. Whereupon ſhe ſaid ſhe could ſay it, and had oft ſaid it. And the Court being deſired by her to hear her ſay it, gave her leave. And four times together after theſe words [ give us this day our daily bread ] ſhe continually ſaid *as we forgive them*, leaving always out the words [ and forgive us our treſpaſſes ] upon which the Court appointed one near her to teach her theſe words ſhe ſo left out. But ſhe either could not or would not ſay them, uſing only theſe or the like words when theſe were repeated, *Ay Ay treſpaſſes*, that's the words. And being oft preſſed to utter the words as they were repeated to her, ſhe did not. And being asked the reaſon, ſhe ſaid ſhe was old and had a bad memory; and being asked how her memory ſerved her ſo well for other parts of the Prayer, and only fail her for that, ſhe ſaid ſhe knew not, neither could ſhe help it.

*John Pyne* being likewiſe ſworn and Examined, ſaid that about *January* laſt the ſaid *Mary Longdon* being his Servant was much troubled with little Stones that were thrown at her where ever ſhe went, and that he hath ſeen them come as if they were thrown at her, others as if they dropped on her, and that he hath ſeen very great quantities of them, and that they would, after they had

hit

hit her, fall on the ground, and then vaniſh, ſo that none of them could be found. And further, that the Maid once caught one of them, and he himſelf another, and one of them with a hole in it, ſhe tyed to her purſe, but it vaniſhed in a little time, but the knot of the Leather that tyed it remained unaltered. That after the ſtones had thus haunted her, ſhe fell into moſt grievous fits, wherein ſhe was ſo violently diſtracted, that four Men would have very much ado to hold her, and that in the higheſt extremity of her fits, ſhe would cry out againſt Gammer *Newton* for hurting and tormenting of her. That ſometimes the Maid would be reading in a Bible, and on a ſudden he hath ſeen the Bible ſtruck out of her Hand into the middle of the Room, and ſhe immediately caſt into a violent fit. That in the fits he hath ſeen two Bibles laid on her Breaſt, and in the twinkling of an Eye they would be caſt betwixt the two Beds the Maid lay upon, ſometime thrown into the middle of the Room, and that *Nicholas Pyne* held the Bible in the Maids Hand ſo faſt, that it being ſuddainly ſnatcht away two of the leaves were Torn. That in many other fits the Maid was removed ſtrangely, in the twinkling of an Eye, out of the bed, ſometimes into the bottom of a Cheſt with Linnen, under all the Linnen, and the Linnen not

at all disordered, sometimes betwixt the two Beds she lay on, sometimes under a parcel of Wool, sometimes betwixt his Bed and the Mat of it in another Room, and once she was laid on a small deal Board, which lay on the top of the House betwixt two Sollar Beams, where he was forced to rear up Ladders to have her fetcht down. That in her fits she hath often Vomited up Wool, Pins, Horse-Nails, Stubs, Straw, Needles and Moss, with a kind of white Foam or Spittle, and hath had several Pins stuck into her Arms and Hands; that sometimes a Man must pull three or four times before he could pull one of them out, and some have been stuck between the flesh and the Skin, where they might be perfectly seen, but not taken out, nor any place seen where they were put in. That when the Witch was brought into the Room, where she was, she would be in more violent and longer lasting fits than at other times. That all the time the Witch was at liberty, the Maid was ill, and as soon as she was committed and bolted, she recovered and was well, and that when the Witch was removed to *Corke*, the Maid fell ill. And thereupon the Major of *Youghall* sent to see if she were bolted or no, and to acquaint them the Maid was ill, and desire them if the Witch were not bolted, they would bolt her. That she immediately mend-

ed and was as well as ever she was: and when the Messenger came from *Corke*, and told them when the Witch was bolted, it fell out to be the very time the Maid amended at *Toughall*.

*Nicholas Pyne* being sworn, saith, That the second night after that the Witch was in Prison, being 24 of *March* last, he and *Joseph Thompson*, *Roger Hawkins*, and some others went to speak with her concerning the Maid, and told her that it was the general Opinion of the Town that she had bewitched her, and desired her to deal freely with them, whether she had bewitched her or no. She said she had not *bewitched* her, but it may be she had *over-looked* her, and that there was a great difference betwixt *bewitching* and *over-looking*, and that she could not have done her any harm if she had not touch't her, and that therefore she had kiss't her. And she said that what mischief she thought of at that time she kiss't her, that would fall upon her, and that she would not but confess she had wronged the Maid, and thereupon fell down upon her Knees, and prayed God to forgive her for wronging the poor Wench. They wisht that she might not be wholly destroyed by her; to which she said, it must be another that must help her, and not they that did the harm. And then she said, there were others, as Goody *Half-*

*penny*,

*Perry*, and Goody *Dod* in Town, that could do these things as well as she, and that it might be one of them that had done the Maid wrong.

That towards Evening, the Door of the Prison shook, and she arose up hastily and said, What makest thou here this time a night? and there was a very great noise, as if some body with Bolts and Chains had been running up and down the Room, and they asked her what it was she spoke to, and what it was made the noise; and she said she saw nothing, neither did she speak, and if she did, it was she knew not what. But the next day she confest it was a *Spirit*, and her *Familiar* in the shape of a Grey-hound.

He saith further, That he and Mr. *Edward Perry* and others, for Trial of her took a Tyle off the Prison, next to the place where the Witch lay, and carried it to the House where the Maid lived, and put it into the fire till it was red hot, and then dropt some of the Maids Water upon it, and the Witch was then grievously tormented, and when the Water was consumed, she was well again.

And as to the stones falling on and cast at the Maid, as to the Maids fits, her removal into the Chest under the Wool, betwixt the Feather-beds, on the top of the deal Board betwixt two Sollar beams, con-

cerning the Bibles and their remove, his holding one of them in the Maids hands till two Leaves were torn, concerning the Maids Vomiting, and her calling out against the Witch, he agreeth perfectly throughout with *John Pyne* as before.

*Edward Perry* being likewise sworn deposeth, That he, Mr. *Greatrix* and Mr. *Blackwall* went to the maid, and M. *Greatrix* and he had read of a way to discover a Witch, which he would put in practice. And so they sent for the Witch, and set her on a Stool, and a Shoemaker with a strong Awl endeavored to stick it in the Stool, but could not till the third time. And then they bad her come off the Stool, but she said she was very weary and could not stir. Then two of them pulled her off, and the Man went to pull out his Awl, and it dropt into his hand with half an Inch broke off the blade of it, and they all looked to have found where it had been stuck, but could find no place where any entry had been made by it. Then they took another Awl and put it into the Maids hand, and one of them took the Maids hand, and ran violently at the Witches hand with it, but could not enter it, though the Awl was so bent that none of them could put it streight again. Then Mr. *Blackwall* took a Launce and launc'd one of her hands an Inch and a half long, and a quarter of an Inch deep,

deep, but it bled not at all. Then he launc't the other hand, and then they bled.

He further saith, That after she was in Prison, he went with *Roger Hawkins* and others to discourse with the Witch about the Maid, and they askt what it was she spake to the day before, and after some denyal, she said it was a Greyhound which was her Familiar, and went out at the Window, and then she said if I have done the Maid hurt, I am sorry for it. And being then asked whether she had done her any hurt, she said she never did *bewitch* her, but confessed she had *overlooked* her that time she kist her, but that she could not now help her, for none could help that did the mischief, but others. And further the Deponent saith, That after at the Assize at *Cashal*, he meeting with one *William Lap*, and discoursing about these passages with him, the said *Lap* told the Deponent, that if he would but take all Tyle off the House near the place where the Witch lay, and heat it red hot in the fire, and then take some of the Maids Water and drop upon it, that so long as this was doing, he should find the Witch most grievously tormented: That afterwards he, *Edward Perry*, *Nicholas Pyne* and others put this in practice, and found that the Witch was extreamly tormented and vexed, and when the experiment was over, she came to her self, and

then they askt her how she came to hurt the Maid: and she said, that what evil she thought against the Maid that time she kist her, that would fall upon her, and that she could not have hurt her except she had toucht her, and then she fell on her knees and confest she had wronged the Maid, and desired God to forgive her. And then they put her upon saying the Lord Prayer, but she could not say the words, *and forgive us our trespasses.*

Mr. *Wood* a Minister being likewise sworn, and Examined deposeth, That having heard of the stones dropt and thrown at the Maid, and of her fits, and meeting with the Maids Brother, he went along with him to the Maid, and found her in her fit crying out against Gammer *Newton*, that she prickt her and hurt her. And when she came to her self he asked her what had troubled her, and she said Gammer *Newton*. And the Deponent said, why, she was not there. Yes, said she, I saw her by my bed side. The Deponent then asked her the original of all, which she related from the time of her begging the Beef, and after Kissing and so to that time. That then they caused the Maid to be got up and sent for *Florence Newton*, but she refused to come, pretending she was sick, though indeed it appeared she was well. Then the Major of *Youghall* came in and

and ſpoke with the Maid, and then ſent again and cauſed *Florence Newton* to be brought in, and immediately the Maid fell into her fit far more violent, and three times as long as at any other time, and all the time the Witch was in the Chamber the Maid cryed out continually of being hurt here and there, but never named the Witch, but as ſoon as ſhe was removed, then ſhe cryed out againſt her by the name of Gammer *Newton*, and this for ſeveral times. And ſtill when the Witch was out of the Chamber the Maid would deſire to go to Prayers, and he found good affections in her in time of Prayer. but when the Witch was brought in again, though never ſo privately, although ſhe could not poſſibly, as the Deponent conceives, ſee her, ſhe would be immediately ſenſleſs and like to be ſtrangled, and ſo would continue till the Witch were taken out, and then though never ſo privately carried away ſhe would come again to her ſenſes. That afterwards Mr. *Greatrix*, Mr. *Blackwall* and ſome others, who would need ſatisfy themſelves in the influence of the Witches preſence, tried it and found it ſeveral times. Although he did it with all poſſible privacy, and ſo as none could think it poſſible for the Maid to know either of the Witches coming in or going out.

*Richard Mayre* Major of *Youghall*, being likewiſe ſworn ſaith, That about the 24th of *March* laſt, he ſent for *Florence Newton*, and Examined her about the Maid, and ſhe at firſt denied it, and accuſed Goodwife *Halfpenny* and Goodwife *Dod*, but at length when he had cauſed a Boat to be provided, and had thought to have tried the Water Experiment on them all three, then *Florence Newton* confeſſed ſhe had *overlooked* the Maid and done her wrong with a kiſs. For which ſhe was heartily ſorry and deſired God to forgive her. That then he likewiſe Examined the other two Women *Halfpenny* and *Dod*, but they utterly deny'd, it and were content to abide any Trial. Whereupon he cauſed both *Florence*, *Halfpenny*, and *Dod*, to be carried to the Maid. And he told her theſe two Women, or one of them were ſaid by Gammer *Newton* to have done her hurt, but ſhe anſwered No no, they are honeſt Women, but it is Gammer *Newton* that hurts me, and I believe ſhe is not far off. That then they afterwards brought in *Newton* privately, and then ſhe fell into a moſt violent fit, ready to be ſtrangled, till the Witch was removed, and then ſhe was well again, and this for three ſeveral times. He further depoſeth, that there were three Aldermen in *Youghall*, whoſe Children ſhe had

had kiſt as he had heard them affirm, and all the Children died preſently after. And as to the ſending to *Cork* to have the bolts put on, ſwears as is formerly depoſed.

*Joſeph Thomſon* being likewiſe ſworn ſaid; That he went in *March* laſt with *Roger Hawkins*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others to the Priſon to confer with *Florence Newton* about the Maid. But ſhe would confeſs nothing that time. But towards Night there was a noiſe at the Priſon door as if ſomething had ſhak't the door, and *Florence* ſtarted up and ſaid, *What aileth thee to be here at this time of the Night?* and there was much noiſe. And they asked her what ſhe ſpoke to, and what made the great noiſe? But ſhe denied that ſhe ſpake or that ſhe knew of any noiſe, and ſaid, if I ſpoke I ſaid I knew not what. And they went their ways at that time and went to her again the next Night, and asked her very ſeriouſly about the laſt Nights paſſage and the noiſe. And then ſhe confeſſed to them that it was a Grayhound that came to her, and that ſhe had ſeen it formerly, and that it went out at the Window. And then ſhe confeſt ſhe had done the Maid wrong, for which ſhe was ſorry and deſired God to forgive her.

Hitherto we have heard the moſt conſiderable Evidence touching *Florence Newton's* Witchcraft upon *Mary Longdon*, for which

which she was committed to *Youghall* Prison, *March* 24. 1661. But *April* following she bewitcht one *David Jones* to death, by kissing his hand through the grate of the Prison, for which she was indicted at *Corke* Assizes, and the Evidence is as follows.

*Elenor Jones* Relict of the said *David Jones*, being sworn and Examined in open Court what she knew concerning any practice of Witchcraft by the said *Florence Newton* upon the said *David* her Husband: gave in the Evidence That in *April* last, the said *David* her late Husband having been out all the Night, came home early in the Morning, and said to the said *Elenor* his Wife, where dost thou think I have been all Night? To which she answered she knew not. Whereupon he replied, I and *Frank Beseley* have been standing Centinel over the Witch all Night. To which she the said *Elenor* said why what hurt is that? Hurt, quoth he? marry, I doubt it's never a jot the better for me. For she hath kist my hand through the grate, and ever since she kist my hand, I have had a great pain in that Arm, and I verily believe she hath bewitched me if ever she bewitched any Man. To which she answered, the Lord forbid. That all the Night and continually from that time he was restless and ill, complaining exceedingly of a great pain in his Arm for seven days together,

and d

nd at the ſeven days end he complained hat the pain was come from his Arm to his Heart, and then kept his Bed Night and Day grievouſly afflicted and crying out gainſt *Florence Newton*, and about fourteen Days after he dyed.

*Francis Beſeley*, being ſworn and Examined ſaid, That about the time aforementioned meeting with the ſaid *David Jones*, and diſcourſing with him of the ſeveral reports then ſtirring concerning this *Florence Newton* (who was then in Priſon at *Youghall* for bewitching *Mary Longdon*) *viz.* that ſhe had ſeveral Familiars reſorting to her in ſundry ſhapes, the ſaid *David Jones* told him the ſaid *Francis Beſeley*, that he had a great mind to watch her the ſaid *Florence Newton* one Night to ſee whether he could obſerve any Cats or other Creatures reſort to her through the grate, as 'twas ſuſpected they did, and deſired the ſaid *Francis* to go with him, which he did. And that when they came thither *David Jones* called to *Florence*, and told her that he heard ſhe could not ſay the Lords Prayer: To which ſhe anſwered ſhe could. He then deſired her to ſay it: But ſhe excuſed her ſelf by the decay of Memory through old Age. Then *David Jones* began to teach her, but ſhe could not or would not ſay it, though often taught it.

Upon

Upon which the ſaid *David Jones* and *Beſeley* being withdrawn a little from her, and diſcourſing of her, not being able to learn this Prayer, ſhe called out to *David Jones*, and ſaid, *David! David!* come hither, I can ſay the Lords Prayer now. Upon which *David* went towards her, and the ſaid Deponent would have pluckt him back, and perſwaded him not to have gone to her. But he would not be perſwaded, but went to the Grate to her, and ſhe began to ſay the Lords Prayer, but could not ſay, [*Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*]. So that *David* again taught her. Which ſhe ſeemed to take very thankfully, and told him ſhe had a great mind to have kiſt him, but that the Grate hindred, but deſired ſhe might kiſs his hand. Whereupon he gave her his hand through the Grate, and ſhe kiſt it, and towards break of day, they went away and parted, and ſoon after the Deponent heard that *David Jones* was ill.

Whereupon he went to viſit him, and found him about two or three days after very ill of a pain in the Arm. : Which he exceedingly complained of, and told the Deponent that ever ſince he parted with him he had been ſeized on with that pain, and that the Old Hag had bewitched him when ſhe kiſt his hand, and that ſhe had him now by the hand, and was pulling off his Arm.

And

And he said, Do you not see the Old Hag how she pulls me? Well, I lay my Death on her, she has bewitcht me. And several times after would complain, that she had tormented him, and had bewitched him, and that he laid his Death on her. And after fourteen days languishing, he the said *David Jones* dyed.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*This Relation is taken out of a Copy of an Authentick Record, as I conceive; every half sheet having* W. Aston *writ in the Margin, and then again* W. Aston *at the end of all, who in all likelihood must be some publick Notary or Record-Keeper. But this Witch of* Youghall *is so famous, that I have heard Mr.* Greatrix *speak of her at my Lord* Conway's *at* Ragley, *and remember very well he told the story of the Awl to me there. There is in this Relation an eximious example of the* Magical venome *of Witches (whence they are called* Veneficæ*) in that all the mischief this Witch did, was by kissing, or some way touching the party she bewitched, and she confest unless she touched her, she could do her no hurt. Which may be called a Magical venome or contagion. But how* Over-looking *and* Bewitching *are distinguished with those of this Hellish Fraternity, I know*

*know not. But that* Mary Longdon *was be-*
witch'd *by her* over-looking *her is manifest,*
*whether this* Over-looking *relates to* ἀπὸ βλαμμὸς
βάσκανος, *and that the Magical venome came*
*out at her Eyes when she kissed the Maid, and*
*whether this* ὀφθαλμὸς βάσκανος *was the first kind*
*of Witchery, distinct from that of bewitching peo-*
*ple by* Images *made of Wax, and afterward any*
*bewitching by meer looking or touching, was cal-*
*led* Over-looking, *we will leave to the Cri-*
*ticks of that black School to decide. As also*
*what is that, which in the Witches shape, so*
*haunts and torments the bewitched party. For*
*that it is not the meer fancy of the bewitched*
*seems reasonable to judge, because their meer*
*fancy could not create such kinds of extream*
*torments to them. And therefore it is either*
*the Witches Familiar in her shape, or the Astral*
Spirit *of the Witch, because the Witch is some-*
*times wounded by striking at her Appearance, as*
*it happened in the appearance of* Jane Brooks
*and also in that of* Julian Cox, *as you shall find*
*in the Relation following.*

RELAT

## RELAT. VIII.

*The Narrative of Mr.* Pool, *his Servant and Officer in the Court to Judge* Archer *in his Circuits, concerning the Trial of* Julian Cox *for Witchcraft; who being himself then present an Officer in the Court, noted as follows,* viz.

*Julian Cox*, aged about 70 years, was Indicted at *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, about Summer Assizes 1663. before Judge *Archer* then Judge of Assize there; for Witchcraft, which she practised upon a young Maid; whereby her body languished, and was impaired of Health; by reason of strange fits upon account of the said Witchcraft.

The evidence against her was divided into two Branches; First, to prove her a Witch in general; Secondly, to prove her guilty of the Witchcraft contained in the Indictment.

For the proof of the first particular, The first Witness was an Huntsman, who swore that he went out with a pack of Hounds to hunt a Hare, and not far off from *Julian Cox* her house, he at last started a Hare. The Dogs hunted her very close, and the third ring

ring hunted her in view, till at last the Huntsman perceiving the Hare almost spent, and making towards a great Bush, he ran on the other side of the Bush to take her up, and preserve her from the Dogs. But as soon as he laid hands on her, it proved to be *Julian Cox*, who had her head groveling on the ground, and her globes (as he exprest it) upward. He knowing her, was affrighted, that his Hair on his Head stood on end; and yet spake to her, and askt her what brought her there. But she was so far out of Breath, that she could not make him any answer. His Dogs also came up with full cry to recover the game, and smelt at her, and so left off hunting any further. And the Huntsman with his Dogs went home presently, sadly affrighted.

Secondly, Another Witness swore, that as he passed by *Cox* her Door, she was taking a Pipe of Tobacco upon the Threshold of her Door, and invited him to come in and take a Pipe, which he did. And as he was taking *Julian* said to him, Neighbour look what a pretty thing there is. He look't down, and there was a monstrous great Toad betwixt his Leggs, staring him in the face. He endeavoured to kill it by spurning it, but could not hit it. Whereupon *Julian* bad him forbear, and it would do him no hurt. But he threw down his Pipe

and went home, (which was about two Miles off of *Julian Cox* her houſe) and told his Family what had happened, and that he believed it was one of *Julian Cox* her Devils. After, he was taking a Pipe of Tobacco at home, and the ſame Toad appeared betwixt his Leggs. He took the Toad out to kill it, and to his thinking cut it in ſeveral pieces, but returning to his Pipe, the Toad ſtill appeared. He endeavored to burn it, but could not. At length he took a Switch and beat it. The Toad ran ſeveral times about the Room to avoid him, he ſtill purſuing it with correction. At length the Toad cryed and vaniſh't, and he was never after troubled with it.

Thirdly, Another ſwore that *Julian* paſt by his Yard while his Beaſts were in Milking, and ſtooping down ſcored upon the ground for ſome ſmall time. During which time his Cattle ran mad, and ſome ran their heads againſt the Trees, and moſt of them dyed ſpeedily. Whereupon concluding they were bewitched, he was after adviſed to this Experiment, to find out the Witch, viz. to cut off the Ears of the bewitched beaſts and burn them, and that the Witch would be in miſery and could not reſt till they were plucked out. Which he tryed, and while they were burning, *Julian Cox* came into the Houſe, raging and ſcolding

that they had abuſed her without cauſe, but ſhe went preſently to the fire and took out the Ears that were burning, and then ſhe was quiet.

Fourthly, Another Witneſs ſwore that ſhe had ſeen *Julian Cox* fly into her own Chamber Window in her full proportion, and that ſhe very well knew her, and was ſure it was ſhe.

Fifthly, Another evidence was the confeſſion of *Julian Cox* her ſelf upon her Examination before a Juſtice of Peace, which was to this purpoſe, That ſhe had been often tempted by the Devil to be a Witch, but never conſented. That one evening ſhe walkt out about a Mile from her own Houſe, and there came riding towards her three perſons upon three Broom-ſtaves, born up about a yard and an half from the ground. Two of them ſhe formerly knew, which was a Witch and a Wizzard that were hanged for Witchcraft ſeveral years before. The third perſon ſhe knew not. He came in the ſhape of a black Man, and tempted her to give him her Soul, or to that effect, and to expreſs it by pricking her finger, and giving her name in her Blood in token of it, and told her that ſhe had revenge againſt ſeveral perſons that had wronged her, but could not bring her purpoſe to paſs without his help, and that upon

on the terms aforesaid he would assist her to be revenged against them. But she said, she did not consent to it. This was the sum of the general Evidence to prove her a Witch.

But now for the second particular, to prove her guilty of the Witchcraft upon the Maid whereof she was indicted, this Evidence was offered:

It was proved that *Julian Cox* came for an Alms to the house where this Maid was a Servant, and that the Maid told her, she should have none, and gave her a crosse answer that displeased *Julian*. Whereupon *Julian* was angry and told the Maid she should repent it before Night, and so she did. For before Night she was taken with a Convulsion fit, and after that left her, she saw *Julian Cox* following her and cryed out to the People in the house to save her from *Julian*.

But none saw *Julian* but the Maid, and all did impute it to her imagination onely. And in the Night she cryed out of *Julian Cox*, and the black Man, that they came upon her bed and tempted her to drink something they offered her. But she cryed out, she defied the Devils Drenches. This also they imputed to her imagination, and bad her be quiet, because they in the same Chamber with her did not see or hear any thing,

and they thought it had been her conceit onely.

The Maid the next Night expecting the ſame conflict ſhe had the Night before, brought up with her a Knife, and laid it at her beds head: About the ſame time of the Night as before, *Julian* and the black Man came again upon the Maids bed and tempted her to drink that which they brought, but ſhe refuſed, crying in the audience of the reſt of the Family, that ſhe defied the Devils Drenches, and took the Knife and ſtabbed *Julian*, and, as ſhe ſaid, ſhe wounded her in the Leg and was importunate with the Witneſs to ride to *Julian Cox*'s houſe preſently to ſee if it were not ſo. The Witneſs went and took the Knife with him. *Julian Cox* would not let him in, but they forced the Door open and found a freſh wound in *Julian*'s Leg, as the Maid had ſaid, which did ſuit with the Knife, and *Julian* had been juſt dreſſing it when the Witneſs came. There was blood alſo found upon the Maids bed.

The next Morning the Maid continued her out-cries that *Julian Cox* appeared to her in the houſe wall, and offered her great Pins which ſhe was forced to ſwallow. And all the Day the Maid was obſerved to conveigh her hand to the houſe wall, and from the wall to her Mouth, and ſhe ſeemed by

the

the motion of her Mouth as if she did eat something. But none saw any thing but the Maid, and therefore thought still it might be her phansy, and did not much mind it. But towards Night this Maid began to be very ill and complained, that the Pins that *Julian* forced her to eat out of the wall, did torment her in all parts of her Body that she could not endure it, and made lamentable out-cries for pain. Whereupon several Persons being present the Maid was undressed, and in several parts of the Maids Body several great swellings appeared, and out of the head of the swellings several great Pins points appeared. Which the Witnesses took out, and upon the Trial there were about Thirty great Pins produced in Court (which I my self handled) all which were sworn by several Witnesses that they were taken out of the Maids Body in manner as is aforesaid.

Judge *Archer* who tryed the Prisoner, told the Jury that he had heard that a Witch could not repeat that petition in the Lords Prayer, *viz.* [*And lead us not into temptation*] and having this occasion he would try the Experiment, and told the Jury that whether she could or could not, they were not in the least measure to guide their Verdict according to it, because it was not legal Evidence, but that they must

be guided in their Verdict by the former Evidences given in upon Oath onely.

The Prisoner was called for up to the next Bar to the Court, and demanded if she could say the Lords Prayer? She said she could, and went over the Prayer readily till she came to that petition. Then she said [And lead us into temptation] or [And lead us not into no temptation] but could not say [*And lead us not into temptation*] though she was directed to say it after one that repeated it to her distinctly. But she could not repeat it otherwise than is expressed already, though tried to do it near half a score times in open Court. After all which the Jury found her guilty, and Judgment having been given within three or four days, she was Executed without any Confession of the Fact.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*This is a Copy of the Narrative sent by Mr.* Pool, *Octob.* 24. 1672. *to Mr.* Archer *of* Emanuel *Colledge, Nephew to the Judge upon the desire of Dr.* Bright. *But I remember here at* Cambridge, *I heard the main passages of this Narrative when they first were spread abroad after the Assizes, and particularly by* G. Rust *after Bishop of* Dromore *in* Ireland. *Nor do I doubt but it is a true account of what was attested before*

*before Judge* Archer *at the Assizes. For it is a thing to me altogether incredible, that he that was an Officer or Servant of the Judge and present in the Court at the Examination and Trial, and there took Notes, should write a Narrative, when there were so many Ear-witnesses besides himself of the same things, that would be obnoxious to the disproof of those who were present as well as himself. It may not be amiss here to transcribe what Dr.* M. *did write to Mr.* G. *touching this story in a Letter dated* Dec. 26. 1678.

*This Narrative*, says he, *hath the most Authentick confirmation that humane affairs are capable of,* Sense *and the sacredness of an* Oath. *But yet I confess I have heard that Judge* Archer *has been taxed by some of overmuch credulity, for sentencing* Julian Cox *to death upon those Evidences. But to deal freely I suspect by such as out of their ignorance misinterpreted several passages in the Evidence, or were of such a dull stupid* Sadducean *temper, that they believe there are no Spirits nor Witches. And truly I must confess that the Huntsman, though he deposed upon Oath, that when he came in to take up the Hare at the Bush, it proved to be* Julian Cox *with her face towards the ground, &c. his expressing of himself touching her Globes and the Doggs smelling, &c. looks something humourſomly and ludicrously on it. But I must further add, that I think it was onely that his fancie was tickled with the featness of the Phænomenon, not that*

*he would be so wicked as to tell a lye upon Oath and that for nothing.* Sic vita hominum est, *says Tully*, ut ad maleficium nemo conetur sine spe atque emolumento accedere. *But that those half-witted People thought he swore false, I suppose was because they imagined that what he told implied that* Julian Cox *was turned into an Hare. Which she was not, nor did his report imply any such real Metamorphosis of her body, but that these ludicrous Dæmons exhibited to the sight of this Huntsman and his Dogs the shape of an Hare, one of them turning himself into such a form, and others hurrying on the body of* Julian *near the same place, and at the same swiftness, but interposing betwixt that Hare-like Spectre and her body, modifying the Air so that the scene there, to the beholders sight, was as if nothing but Air were there, and a shew of Earth perpetually suited to that where the Hare passed. As I have heard of some Painters that have drawn the Sky in an huge large Landskip, so lively that the Birds have flown against it, thinking it free Air, and so have fallen down. And if Painters and Juglers by the tricks of Legerdemain can do such strange feats to the deceiving of the sight, it is no wonder that these Airy invisible Spirits as far surpass them in all such præstigious doings as the Air surpasses the Earth for subtilty.*

*And the like* Præstigiæ *may be in the Toad. It might be a real Toad (though actuated and*

*guided*

guided by a Dæmon) which was cut in pieces, and that also which was whipt about, and at last snatcht out of sight (as if it had vanished) by these Aerial Hocus-Pocus's. And if some Juglers have tricks to take hot Coals into their Mouth without hurt, certainly it is no strange thing that some small attempt did not suffice to burn that Toad. That such a Toad, sent by a witch and crawling up the Body of the Man of the house as he sate by the fire's side, was overmastered by him and his Wife together, and burnt in the fire; I have heard sometime ago credibly reported by one of the Isle of Ely. Of these Dæmoniack Vermin, I have heard other stories also, as of a Rat that followed a Man some score of Miles trudging through thick and thin along with him. So little difficulty is there in that of the Toad.

And that of Julian Cox's being seen to fly in at her own Chamber Window, there is no difficulty in it, if it be understood of her Familiar, the black Man, that had transformed himself into her shape. For this is no such unusual thing for Witches to appear either in their Astral Spirits or by their Familiars, as if it were their very bodily Persons. But when she appeared to the Maid together with the black Man and offered her to drink, it is likely it was her Astral Spirit, and Julians being wounded in her body by the wound on her Astral Spirit is just such

another

*another case, as that of* Jane Brooks, *which you your self note in your Book of Witchcraft.*

*The most incredible thing is her eating of Pins, she knowing them to be such. But they that are bewitched are not themselves, and being possessed are actuated in the parts of their body, and their mind driven by that ugly inmate in them, to what he will; which is notorious in the story of Mrs.* Frogmorton's *Children. And for the Pins thus swallowed, their coming out into the exterior parts of her body, Examples of this sort are infinite; and far more strange than these are recorded by* Baptista Van Helmont, de Injectis.

*These are the most incredible passages in this Narrative; and yet you see how credible they are; if rightly understood. But those that believe no Spirits will believe nothing never so credible of this kind, and others that have some natural aversion from these things will presently interpret them in the vulgar sense, and then sweetly snear at their own ignorance. But I must confess if this be a true Relation of what passed in the Court, I do not question but the things that were sworn did so appear to them that swore them. Or else there is nothing to be credited in human affairs. But concerning the truth of the Relation, besides what I hinted in my last to you, you would do well to write to some or other in* Taunton, *&c. Thus far* Dr. M.

And

*And if any one be so curious as to desire an account of Mr.* G. *his further inquiry into this business, I can tell him that he wrote to Mr.* Hunt *who then busy in some Court, yet made shift to read the Narrative and wrote two or three lines to him back to this effect. That one principal Evidence was omitted in the Narrative, but that is nothing against the truth of the rest. But he adds also, that some things were false. Which would stumble one and make him think that the credit of this Narrative is quite blasted thereby. But this Riddle is easily unriddled by him that considers, that Mr.* Hunt *may respect those things that are said to be confest by her in her examination before a Justice of Peace. For he also having some time Examined her, and she making no such confession to him (as Mr.* G. *himself says in a Letter to Dr.* M. *that he perused that Examination in Mr.* Hunts *Book, and there was not any thing considerable therein) might speak this in reference to the Examination which he had taken, she then not confessing so freely as to some other Justice, whose Examination therefore was made use of in the Court. But this cannot concern at all the rest of the Narrative, which was given upon Oath in the Court in the hearing of all. This I thought fit not to omit as being desirous to deal with all faithfulness in concealing nothing, and not to impose upon the Reader, but that he may make his judgment upon the whole matter.*

*As*

*As for the Witches being hurried along with that Hare-like Spectre, her being out of breath (as the Huntſman teſtified) makes it moſt probable; or at leaſt that ſhe was hurried from ſome other place on the earth, or in the air (to meet there at length with the Hare-like Spectre) but this invisibly by that* κλεπτωπία, *or* Preſtigiatory *art or faculty of theſe ludicrous Dæmons, whereby they can ſo modifie the Air immediately next to the party they would conceal, that it looks there like the free Skie, or what Landskip they pleaſe; as when they ſhew in a* Shew-ſtone *or Glaſs, the very Room in which the party is, the Dæmon by the power of his Imagination, ſo modifying at leaſt his own Vehicle. Which power ſome of thoſe of the Atheiſtick Brotherhood cannot with any face deny, ſuppoſing there are Dæmons, they giving a greater power to the Imagination of a Man, as if it were able to transform the Air into real Birds or Mice, or ſuch like Creatures livingly ſuch for the preſent. But any thing muſt be believed, rather than the Exiſtence of Witches and Dæmons.*

*It will not be amiſs here to take notice what an eminent example this* Julian Cox *is of* Moſes *his* Megnonenah *or* Mecaſſephah *taken in the ſame ſenſe, that is, of ſuch a Witch as is thought by a* κλεπτωπία, *or* preſtigiatory *power (though it is the Devil that does theſe feats, not ſhe) to transform her ſelf into ſtrange ſhapes, and uſe other like deceptions of the ſight.*

*As also it is a notable instance of the* Astral Spirits *of Witches, how strongly, though at a distance of place, they are tyed together in a fatal Sympathy with their Bodies, the Body of* Julian *being wounded by a stab at her* Astral Spirit, *as it fared also in* Jane Brooks, *and an Old Woman in* Cambridge-shire, *whose* Astral Spirit *coming into a Mans house, (as he was sitting alone at the fire) in the shape of an huge Cat, and setting her self before the fire, not far from him, he stole a stroke at the back of it with a Fire-fork, and seemed to break the back of it, but it scambled from him, and vanisht he knew not how. But such an Old Woman, a reputed Witch, was found dead in her Bed that very night, with her Back broken, as I have heard some years ago credibly reported.*

*That also is a marvellous* Magical Sympathy *in this story of* Julian Cox, *that the burning of the Ears of the Beast bewitched by her, should put her into such rage and torment. Like the heating of the Tile red hot in the story of* Florence Newton, *and pouring some of the bewitched Maids water upon it. Which puts me in mind of a very remarkable story of this kind, told me by Mr.* Brearly, *once Fellow of Christs Colledge in* Cambridge, *who boarded in an house in* Suffolk, *where his Landlady had been ill handled by Witchcraft.*

*For an Old Man that Travelled up and down*

*the*

*the Country, and had some acquaintance at that house, calling in and asking the Man of the house how he did and his Wife; He told him that himself was well, but his Wife had been a long time in a languishing condition, and that she was haunted with a thing in the shape of a Bird, that would flurr near to her face, and that she could not enjoy her natural rest well. The Old Man bid him and his Wife be of good courage.* It was but a dead Spright, *he said, and he would put him in a course to rid his Wife of this languishment and trouble. He therefore advised him to take a Bottle, and put his Wives Urine into it, together with Pins and Needles and Nails, and Cork them up, and set the Bottle to the fire, but be sure the Cork be fast in it, that it fly not out. The Man followed the prescription, and set the Bootle to the fire well corkt, which when it had felt a while the heat of the fire began to move and joggle a little, but he for sureness took the Fireshovel, and held it hard upon the Cork. And as he thought he felt something one while on this side, another while on that, shove the Fireshovel off, which he still quickly put on again, but at last at one shoving the Cork bounced out, and the Urine, Pins, Nails and Needles all flew up, and gave a report like a Pistol, and his Wife continued in the same trouble and languishment still.*

*Not long after, the Old Man came to the house again, and inquired of the Man of the house*

*house how his Wife did. Who answered as ill as ever, if not worse. He askt him if he had followed his direction. Yes, says he, and told him the event as is abovesaid. Ha, quoth he, it seems it was too nimble for you. But now I will put you in a way, that will make the business sure. Take your Wive's Urine as before, and Cork it in a Bottle with Nails, Pins and Needles, and bury it in the Earth; and that will do the feat. The Man did accordingly. And his Wife began to mend sensibly, and in a competent time was finely well recovered. But there came a Woman from a Town some miles off to their house, with a lamentable Out-cry, that they had killed her Husband. They askt her what she meant and thought her distracted, telling her they knew neither her nor her husband. Yes, saith she, you have killed my husband, he told me so on his Death-bed. But at last they understood by her, that her Husband was a Wizzard, and had bewitched this Mans Wife, and that this Counter-practice prescribed by the Old Man, which saved the Mans Wife from languishment, was the death of that Wizzard that had bewitcht her. This story did Mr.* Brearly *hear from the Man and Womans own Mouth who were concerned, and at whose House he for a time Boarded, nor is there any doubt of the truth thereof.*

*But it will be more easie for any rational Man to believe stories of this kind, than to find out a satisfactory account of the operation and effect,*

*fect, or to assure the lawfulness of such counter-practice against Witchcraft, unless they can be resolved into the* Sympathy *and* Synenergy *of the* Spiritus Mundanus, (*which* Plotinus *calls* ἡ μεγάλη φύσις, *the grand* Magician) *such as the operation of the Weapon-salve, and other Magnetick Cures are resolved into. And forasmuch as the power of a truly* Divine Magick, *such as Prophets and Holy Law-givers are endued with, is too great and August to be found in ordinary good Men, that are to bring in no new Law or Religion into the World, the benignity of Providence is to be acknowledged in that the Villanies of Witchcraft lye obnoxious to such a natural or ratified way of* Discoveries *and* Counter-practices *as these. But how this obnoxiousness of Witches is complicated with their Familiars sucking their Bodies, is a point too nice and prolix to enter upon here. But it is most safe not to tamper at all with these things, and most happy to have no occasion for it.*

*Lastly, as for* Julian Cox *her not being able to say one of the Petitions in the Lords Prayer, the case is like that of* Florence Newton *the* Irish *Witch, but unlike in this, that it was not the same Petition* Florence Newton *stuck at. And I remember when I had the curiosity with a friend of mine, of examining certain Witches at* Castle-hill *in* Cambridge, *the most notorious of them, who also was hanged for a Witch, offered to say the Creed and Lords Prayer, as an*

*Argu-*

*Argument she was no Witch; and so far as I remember, she said the Lords Prayer right, but was out at the Creed; nor do I think this any certain sign of their guilt or innocency, and therefore Judge* Archer *did well to lay no stress on it. But these things are of less moment, and therefore I pass to the next Relation, which looks not so much like Witchcraft, as the Apparition of the Ghost of one deceased.*

## RELAT. IX.

*Which is a Relation of* Thomas Goddard *of* Marlbrough, *in the County of* Wilts, *Weaver; made the* 23. Nov. 1674.

WHo saith, That on *Monday* the Ninth of this Instant, as he was going to *Ogborn* at a Style on the Highway near Mr. *Goddards* ground, about Nine in the Morning, he met the Apparition of his Father in Law; one *Edward Avon* of this Town Glover, who dyed in *May* last, having on, to his appearance, the same Clothes, Hat, Stockings and Shoes he did usually wear when he was living, standing by, and leaning over that Style. Which when he came near, the Apparition spake to him with an audible voice these words, *Are you*

*afraid?* To which he answered, I am, thinking on one who is dead and buried, whom you are like. To which the Apparition replyed with the like voice, I am he that you were thinking on, I am *Edward Avon* your Father in Law, come near to me, I will do you no harm. To which *Goddard* answered, I trust in him who hath bought my Soul with his precious Blood, you shall do me no harm. Then the *Apparition* said, How stand cases at home? *Goddard* askt what cases? Then it askt him how do *William* and *Mary*, meaning as he conceived, his Son *William Avon* a Shoemaker here, and *Mary* his Daughter the said *Goddards* Wife. Then, it said, What! *Taylor* is dead, meaning, as he thought, one *Taylor* of *London*, who Married his Daughter *Sarah*, which *Taylor* dyed about *Michaelmas* last. Then the *Apparition* held out its hand, and in it, as *Goddard* conceived, twenty or thirty shillings in silver, and then spake with a loud voice: Take this Money and send it to *Sarah*, for I shut up my Bowels of compassion toward her in the time of my life, and now here is somewhat for her. And then said, *Mary* (meaning his the said *Goddards* Wife as he conceived) is troubled for me. But tell her, God hath shewed mercy to me contrary to my deserts. But the said *Goddard* answered, In the Name of Jesus Christ, I refuse all such

Money,

Money. Then the *Apparition* ſaid, I perceive you are afraid. I will meet you ſome other time. And immediately it went up the Lane to his appearance. So he went over the ſame Style, but ſaw it no more that day.

He ſaith, The next night about ſeven of the Clock, it came and opened his ſhop Window, and ſtood in the like Clothes, looked him in the face, but ſaid nothing to him. And the next night after, as *Goddard* went forth into his Backſide with a Candle light in his hand, it appeared to him again in the ſame ſhape, but he being in fear ran into his houſe, and ſaw it no more then.

But he ſaith, That on *Thurſday* the twelfth inſtant, as he came from *Chilton*, riding down the Hill between the Mannor-houſe and *Axford*-Farm-field, he ſaw ſomewhat like a Hare croſſed his way, at which his Horſe frighted threw him in the dirt, and as ſoon as he could recover on his feet, the ſame Apparition there met him again in the ſame habit, and there ſtanding about eight foot directly before him in the way; ſpake again to him with a loud voice, *Source* (a word he commonly uſed when living) you have ſtayed long, and then ſaid to him, *Thomas*, bid *William Avon* take the Sword that he had of me, which is now in his houſe, and carry it to the Wood as we go to *Alton*, to the upper end of the Wood bythe ways

ſide. For with that Sword I did wrong a-bove Thirty years ago, and he never proſpe-red ſince he had that Sword. And bid *William Avon* give his Siſter *Sarah* twenty ſhil-lings of the money which he had of me. And do you talk with *Edward Lawrence*, for I borrowed twenty ſhillings of him ſeveral years ago, and did ſay I had paid him, but I did not pay it him, and I would deſire you to pay him twenty ſhillings out of the mo-ney which you had from *James Elliot* at two payments. Which money the ſaid *Goddard* now ſaith was five pounds, which *James Elliot* a Baker here owed the ſaid *Avon* on Bond, and which he the ſaid *Goddard* had re-ceived from the ſaid *Elliot* ſince *Michaelmas* at two payments, *viz.* 35 *s.* at one, and 3 *l.* 5 *s.* at another payment. And it fur-ther ſaid to him, Tell *Margaret* (meaning his own Wife as he conceived) that I would de-ſire her to deliver up the little which I gave to little *Sarah Taylor* to the Child, or to any one ſhe will truſt for it. But if ſhe will not, ſpeak to *Edward Lawrence* to perſwade her. But if ſhe will not then, tell her that I will ſee her very ſuddenly. And ſee that this be done within a Twelve-moneth and a day after my deceaſe, and peace be with you. And ſo it went away over the Rails into the Wood there in the like manner as any Man would go over a Style to his ap-

pre-

prehenſion, and ſo he ſaw it no more at that time. And he ſaith, that he paid the twenty ſhillings to *Edward Lawrence* of this Town, who being preſent now doth remember he lent the ſaid *Avon* twenty ſhillings about twenty years ago, which none knew but himſelf and Wife, and *Avon* and his Wife, and was never paid it again before now by this *Goddard*.

And this ſaid *Goddard* further ſaith, That this very day by Mr. Majors order, he with his Brother in Law *William Avon* went with the Sword, and about Nine a Clock this Morning, they laid down the Sword in the Copſe near the place the *Apparition* had appointed *Goddard* to carry it, and then coming away thence, *Goddard* looking back, ſaw the ſame *Apparition* again in the like habit as before. Whereupon he called to his Brother in Law, and ſaid, Here is the *Apparition* of our Father, Who ſaid I ſee nothing. Then *Goddard* fell on his Knees and ſaid, Lord open his Eyes that he may ſee it. But he replyed, Lord grant I may not ſee it, if it be thy bleſſed Will. And then the *Apparition* to *Goddards* appearance, beckned with his hand to him to come to it. And then *Goddard* ſaid, In the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, what would you have me to do? Then the Apparition ſaid to him, *Thomas*, Take up the Sword and follow me. To which he

ſaid, ſhould both of us come, or but one of us? To which it anſwered, *Thomas*, do you take up the Sword. And ſo he took up the Sword and followed the Apparition about Ten Lugs (that is Poles) further into the Copſe, and then turning back, he ſtood ſtill about a Lug and a half from it, his Brother in Law ſtaying behind at the place where they firſt laid down the Sword. Then *Goddard* laying down the Sword upon the ground, ſaw ſomething ſtand by the Apparition like a Maſtiff Dog of a brown colour. Then the Apparition coming towards *Goddard*, he ſtept back about two ſteps, and the Apparition ſaid to him, I have a permiſſion to you, and commiſſion not to touch you, and then it took up the Sword, and went back to the place at which before it ſtood, with a Maſtiff Dog by it as before, and pointed the top of the Sword into the ground and ſaid, In this place lyes buried the Body of him which I murdered in the year 1635. which is now rotten and turned to duſt. Whereupon *Goddard* ſaid, I do adjure you in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, wherefore did you do this murder? And it ſaid, I took money from the Man, and he contended with me, and ſo I murdered him. Then *Goddard* askt him, who was confederate with him in the ſaid murder? and it ſaid, none but my ſelf. Then *Goddard* ſaid,

What

What would you have me to do in this thing? And the *Apparition* ſaid, This is that the World may know that I murdered a Man, and buried him in this place in the year 1635.

Then the Apparition laid down the Sword on the bare ground there, whereon grew nothing, but ſeemed to *Goddard* to be as a Grave ſunk in. And then the Apparition ruſhing further into the Copſe vaniſhed, and he ſaw it no more. Whereupon *Goddard* and his Brother in Law *Avon*, leaving the Sword there and coming away together, *Avon* told *Goddard* he heard his voice, and underſtood what he ſaid, and heard other words diſtinct from his, but could not underſtand a word of it, nor ſaw any *Apparition* at all. Which he now alſo preſent affirmeth, and all which the ſaid *Goddard* then atteſted under his hand, and affirmed he will depoſe the ſame when he ſhall be thereto required.

In the preſence of *Chriſt. Lypyatt* Major, *Rolf Bayly* Town-Clerk, *Joſhuah Sacheverell* Rector of St. *Peters* in *Malebrough*,

Examined by me

*Will. Bayly.*

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*That* Tho. Goddard *saw this* Apparition, *seems to be a thing indubitable; but whether it was his Father in Law's Ghost, that is more questionable. The former is confirmed from an hand at least impartial, if not disfavourable to the story. The party in his Letter to Mr.* G— *writes briefly to this effect.* 1. *That he does verily think that this* Tho. Goddard *does believe the story most strongly himself.* 2. *That he cannot imagine what interest he should have in raising such a story, he bringing Infamy on his Wives Father, and obliging himself to pay twenty shillings debt, which his poverty could very ill spare.* 3. *That his Father in Law* Edward Avon, *was a resolute sturdy fellow in his young years, and many years a Bailiff to Arrest people.* 4. *That* Tho. Goddard *had the repute of an honest Man, knew as much in Religion as most of his rank and breeding, and was a constant frequenter of the Church, till about a year before this happened to him, he fell off wholly to the Non-Conformists.*

*All this hitherto, save this last of all, tends to the Confirmation of the story. Therefore this last shall be the first Allegation against the credibility thereof.* 2. *It is further alledged, that possibly the design of the story may be to*

*make*

*make him to be accounted an extraordinary ſome-body amongſt the diſſenting party.* 3. *That he is ſometimes troubled with Epileptical fits.* 4. *That the Major ſent the next Morning to digg the place where the Spectre ſaid the Murdered Man was Buried, and there was neither bones found nor any difference of the Earth in that place from the reſt.*

*But we anſwer briefly to the firſt, That his falling off to the Non-Conformiſts though it may argue a vacillancy of his judgment, yet it does not any defect of his external ſenſes, as if he were leſs able to diſcern when he ſaw or heard any thing than before: To the ſecond, That it is a perfect contradiction to his ſtrong belief of the truth of his own ſtory, which plainly implies that he did not feign it to make himſelf an extraordinary ſome-body: To the third, That an Epileptical Perſon when he is out of his fits, hath his external ſenſes as true and entire, as a Drunken Man has when his Drunken fit is over, or a Man awake after a night of ſleep and dreams. So that this argument has not the leaſt ſhew of force with it, unleſs you will take away the authority of all Mens ſenſes, becauſe at ſometimes they have not a competent uſe of them, namely in ſleep, drunkenneſs or the like. But now laſtly for the fourth which is moſt conſiderable, it is yet of no greater force than to make it queſtionable whether this Spectre was the Ghoſt of his Father, or ſome ludicrous Goblin that would put a trick*

*upon*

upon Thomas Goddard, *by personating his Father-in-Law, and by a false pointing at the pretended grave of the Murdered make him ridiculous. For what* Porphyrius *has noted, I doubt not but is true, That* Dæmons *sometimes personate the Souls of the deceased. But if an uncoffined body being laid in a ground exposed to wet and dry, the Earth may in* 30 *years space consume the very bones and assimilate all to to the rest of the mold, when some Earths will do it in less than the fifteenth part of that space: Or if the Ghost of* Edward Avon *might have forgot the certain place (it being no grateful object of his memory) where he buried the murdered Man, and only guessed that to be it because it was something sunk, as if the Earth yielded upon the wasting of the Buried body, the rest of the story will still naturally import that it was the very Ghost of* Edward Avon. *Besides, himself expresly declares, as that the body was Buried there, so that by this time it was all turn'd into dust.*

*But whether it was a ludicrous* Dæmon *or* Edward Avons *Ghost, concerns not our scope. It is sufficient that it is a certain instance of a real Apparition, and I thought fit as in the former story, so here to be so faithful as to conceal nothing that any might pretend to lessen the credibility thereof. Stories of the appearing of Souls departed are not for the tooth of the Non-conformists, who, as it is said, if they generally believe this, it must be from the undeniable evidence thereof,*

nor

*nor could* Thomas Goddard *gratifie them by inventing of it. And that it was not a phanſy the knowledge of the* 20 *Shillings debt imparted to* Thomas Goddard *ignorant thereof before, and his Brother* Avon's *hearing a voice diſtinct from his in his diſcourſe with the* Apparition, *does plainly enough imply. Nor was it* Goddard's *own phanſy, but that real Spectre that opened his ſhop-window. Nor his imagination, but ſomething in the ſhape of an Hare that made his Horſe ſtart and caſt him into the dirt; The Apparition of* Avon *being then accompanied with that Hare, as after with the Maſtiff-Dog. And laſtly the whole frame of the ſtory, provided the Relator does verily think it true himſelf (as Mr. S. teſtifies for him in his Letter to Mr.* Glanvil, *and himſelf profeſt he was ready at any time to ſwear to it) is ſuch, that it being not a voluntary invention, cannot be an impoſing phanſy.*

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## RELAT. X.

### *The Apparition of the Ghoſt of Major* George Sydenham, *to Captain* William Dyke, *taken out of a Letter of Mr.* James Douch *of* Mongton, *to Mr.* Joſ. Glanvil.

CONcerning the Apparition of the Ghoſt of Major *George Sydenham* (late of *Dulverton* in the County of *Somerſet*,) to Captain *William*

*William Dyke* (late of *Skilgate* in this County alſo, and now likewiſe deceaſed) be pleaſed to take the Relation of it as I have it from the Worthy and Learned Dr. *Tho. Dyke*, a near Kinſman of the Captains, Thus: Shortly after the Major's Death, the Doctor was deſired to come to the Houſe to take care of a Child that was there ſick, and in his way thither he called on the Captain, who was very willing to wait on him to the place, becauſe he muſt, as he ſaid, have gone thither that Night, though he had not met with ſo encouraging an opportunity. After their arrival there at the Houſe and the civility of the People ſhewn them in their Entertainment, they were ſeaſonably conducted to their Lodging, which they deſired might be together in the ſame bed, Where, after they had lain a while, the Captain knockt and bids the Servant bring him two of the largeſt and biggeſt Candles lighted that he could get. Whereupon the Doctor enquires what he meant by this? The Captain anſwers, you know Couſin what diſputes my Major and I have had touching the being of a God, and the Immortality of the Soul. In which points we could never yet be reſolved, though we ſo much ſought for and deſired it. And therefore it was at length fully agreed between us, That he of us that dyed

firſt

first should the third night after his Funeral, between the hours of Twelve and One come to the little house that is here in the Garden and there give a full account to the surviver touching these matters, who should be sure to be present there at the set time and so receive a full satisfaction. And this, says the Captain, is the very Night, and I am come on purpose to fulfill my promise.

The Doctor disswaded him, minding him of the danger of following those strange Counsels, for which we could have no warrant, and that the Devil might by some cunning device make such an advantage of this rash attempt, as might work his utter ruine. The Captain replies, that he had solemnly engaged, and that nothing should discourage him: and adds, That if the Doctor would wake a while with him, he would thank him, if not, he might compose himself to his rest; but for his own part he was resolved to watch, that he might be sure to be present at the hour appointed. To that purpose he sets his Watch by him, and as soon as he perceived by it that it was half an hour past Eleven, he rises, and taking a Candle in each hand, goes out by a back Door of which he had before gotten the Key, and walks to the Garden-house, where he continued two hours and an half, and at his return declared that he neither saw nor

heard

heard any thing more than was usual. But I know, said he, that my Major would surely have come, had he been able.

About six weeks after the Captain rides to *Eaton* to place his Son a Scholar there, when the Doctor went thither with him. They Lodged there at an Inn, the Sign was the *Christopher*, and tarried two or three Nights, not lying together now as before at *Dulverton*, but in two several Chambers. The Morning before they went thence the Captain stayed in his Chamber longer than he was wont to do before he called upon the Doctor. At length he comes into the Doctors Chamber, but in a visage and form much differing from himself; with his Hair and Eyes staring, and his whole body shaking and trembling. Whereat the Doctor wondering, presently demanded, What is the matter, Cousin Captain? The Captain replies, I have seen my Major. At which the Doctor seeming to smile, the Captain immediately confirms it, saying, If ever I saw him in my life I saw him but now. And then he related to the Doctor what had passed, Thus: This Morning after it was light, some one comes to my beds side and suddainly drawing back the Curtains calls *Cap. Cap.* (which was the term of familiarity that the Major used to call the Captain by) to whom I replied, What my Major? To

which

which he returns, I could not come at the time appinted, but I am now come to tell you, *That there is a God and a very just and terrible one, and if you do not turn over a new leaf* (the very expreſſion as is by the Doctor punctually remembred) *you will find it ſo.* (the Captain proceeded) On the Table by, there lay a Sword which the Major had formerly given me. Now after the Apparition had walked a turn or two about the Chamber he took up the Sword, drew it out, and finding it not ſo clean and bright as it ought, *Cap. Cap.* ſays he, this Sword did not uſe to be kept after this manner when it was mine. After which words he ſuddainly diſappeared.

The Captain was not only throughly perſwaded of what he had thus ſeen and heard, but was from that time obſerved to be very much affected with it. And the humour that before in him was brisk and jovial, was then ſtrangely altered. Inſomuch as very little meat would paſs down with him at Dinner, though at the taking leave of their Friends there was a very handſome Treat provided. Yea it was obſerved that what the Captain had thus ſeen and heard had a more laſting influence upon him, and it is judged by thoſe who were well acquainted with his Converſation, that the remembrance of this paſſage ſtuck cloſe to him, and that thoſe words of his dead Friend

were

were frequently sounding fresh in his Ears; during the remainder of his Life, which was about two years.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*For a further assurance of the truth of the story, it will not be amiss to take notice what Mr.* Douch *writes in his second Letter to Mr.* Glanvil, *touching the Character of the Major and the Captain. They were both, saith he, of my good atquaintance, Men well bred, and of a brisk humour and jolly conversation, of very quick and keen parts, having also been both of them University and Inns of Court Gentlemen. The Major I conceive was about forty five years old when he dyed, and I believe the Captain might then be fifty or somewhat more. I cannot understand that the Doctor and the Captain had any discourse concerning the former engagement to meet, after the disappointment at that time and place, or whether the Captain had after that any expectation of the performance of the promise which the Major had made him. Thus far Mr.* Douch. *And truly one would naturally think, that he failing the solemn appointed time, the Captain would consequently let go all hopes and expectation of his appearing afterward. Or if he did, that it would be at such a time of the night as was first determined of, and not at*

*the*

*the morning light. Which ſeaſon yet is leſs obnoxious to the Impoſtures of Fancy and Melancholy, and therefore adds ſome weight to the aſſurance of the truth of the Apparition. I will only add one clauſe more out of that ſecond Letter that makes to the point. This ſtory, ſaith he, has and doth ſtill obtain credit from all that knew the Captain, who it ſeems was not at all ſhie or ſcrupulous to relate it to any one that askt him concerning it, though it was obſerved he never mentioned it, but with great terrour and trepidation.*

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## RELAT. XI.

*Being a* Poſtſcript *of the firſt Letter of Mr.* Douch, *concerning the appearing of the Ghoſt of Sir* George Villiers, *Father to the firſt Duke of* Buckingham.

SIR,

SInce the writing of the premiſſes, a paſſage concerning an Apparition of Sir *George Villiers*, giving warning of his Son's (the Duke of *Buckingham*'s) Murther is come into my Mind, which hath been aſſured by a Servant of the Dukes to be a great truth. Thus: Some few days before the Dukes going to *Portſmouth* (where he was ſtabbed by

*Felton*) the Ghoſt of his Father Sir *George Villiers* appeared to one *Parker* (formerly his own Servant, but then Servant to the Duke) in his Morning Chamber Gown; charged *Parker* to tell his Son that he ſhould decline that Employment and deſign he was going upon, or elſe he would certainly be murthered. *Parker* promiſed the Apparition to do it, but neglected it. The Duke making preparations for his Expedition, the *Apparition* came again to *Parker*, taxing him very ſeverely for his breach of Promiſe, and required him not to delay the acquainting his Son of the danger he was in. Then *Parker* the next day tells the Duke, that his Fathers Ghoſt had twice appeared to him, and had commanded him to give him that warning. The Duke ſlighted it, and told him he was an old Doting Fool. That night the *Apparition* came to *Parker* a third time, ſaying, *Parker* thou haſt done well in warning my Son of his danger, but though he will not yet believe thee, Go to him once more however, and tell him from me by ſuch a Token (naming a private Token) which no body knows, but only he and I, that if he will not decline this voyage, ſuch a Knife as this is (pulling a long Knife out from under his Gown) will be his death. This Meſſage *Parker* alſo delivered the next day to the Duke, who when he heard the private Token

ken believed that he had it from his Fathers Ghoſt, yet ſaid that his honour was now at ſtake, and he could not go back from what he had undertaken, come life come death. This paſſage *Parker* after the Duke's murther communicated to his fellow Servant one *Henry Ceeley*, who told it to a reverend Divine a Neighbour of mine, from whoſe mouth I have it. This *Henry Ceeley* has not been dead above Twenty years, and his habitation for ſeveral years before his death was at *North-Currey* but three Miles from this place. My Friend the Divine aforeſaid was an intimate acquaintance of this *Henry Ceeley*'s, and aſſures me he was a perſon of known truth and integrity.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*This ſtory I heard (but another name put for* Parker *) with great aſſurance and with larger circumſtances from a Perſon of Honour, but I ſhall content my ſelf to note onely what I find in a Letter of Mr.* Timothy Locket *of* Mongton, *to Mr.* Glanvil, *That this* Apparition *to Mr.* Parker *was all three times towards midnight when he was reading in ſome Book, and he mentions that the Dukes Expedition was for the relief of* Rochel. *The reſt is muchwhat as Mr.* Douch *has declared. But I will not omit*

*the close of Mr.* Lockets *Letter. I was confirmed in the truth of the premisses,* saith he, *by Mr.* Henry Ceeley, *who was then a Servant with this Mr.* Parker, *to the Duke, and who told me that he knew Mr.* Parker *to be a Religious and sober Person, and that every particular related was to his knowledge true.*

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## RELAT. XII.

*Of the appearing of Mr.* Watkinson's *Ghost to his Daughter* Toppam, *contained in a Letter of Mrs.* Taylor *of the* Ford *by St.* Neots, *to Dr.* Ezekias Burton.

SIR;

MY Service to you and your Lady. Now according to your desire I shall write what my Cousin told me: Her name was *Mary Watkinson,* her Father did live in *Smithfield*, but she was Married to one *Francis Toppam*, and she did live in *York*, with her Husband being an ill one, who did steal her away against her Parents consent, so that they could not abide him. But she came often to them, and when she was last with him upon their parting, she expressed that she feared she should never see him more. He answered her, if he should dye, if ever

God

God did permit the dead to ſee the living, he would ſee her again. Now after he had been Buried about half a year, on a Night, when ſhe was in bed, but could not ſleep, ſhe heard Muſick, and the Chamber grew lighter and lighter, and ſhe being broad awake, ſaw her Father ſtand at her bedſide: Who ſaid, I *Mal* did not I tell thee that I would ſee thee once again? She called him Father, and talked of many things; and he bad her be Patient and Dutiful to her Mother. And when ſhe told him that ſhe had a Child ſince he did dye, he ſaid that would not trouble her long. He bad her ſpeak what ſhe would now to him, for he muſt go, and that he ſhould never ſee her more till they met in the Kingdom of Heaven. So the Chamber grew darker and darker, and he was gone with Muſick. And ſhe ſaid that ſhe did never dream of him nor ever did ſee any Apparition of him after.

He was a very honeſt godly Man as far as I can tell.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*This ſtory* G. Ruſt, *who was after Biſhop of* Dromore, *told me I remember with great aſſurance ſome Twenty years ago, who was not at all credulous in theſe things. And it was ſo*

*as Mrs.* Taylor *relates to Dr.* Burton. *The next Relation ſhall be of a Daughter appearing to her Father.*

## RELAT. XIII.

*The appearing of the Ghoſt of the Daughter of Dr.* Farrar *to him after her death, according to a brief Narrative ſent from Mr.* Edward Fowler *to Dr.* H. More, *Anno* 1678. *May* 11.

THis week Mr. *Pearſon* who is a worthy good Miniſter of this City of *London*, told me; That his Wife's Grandfather a Man of great Piety and Phyſician to this preſent King, his name *Farrar*, nearly related (I think Brother) to the famous Mr. *Farrar* of little *Giddon*, I ſay this Gentleman and his Daughter (Mrs. *Pearſons* Mother a very pious ſoul) made a compact at his intreaty that the firſt of them that dyed, if happy, ſhould after death appear to the ſurviver, if it were poſſible; the Daughter with ſome difficulty conſenting thereto.

Some time after, the Daughter who lived at *Gillingham*-Lodge two Miles from *Salisbury*, fell in labour, and by a miſtake being given

a

a noxious potion instead of another prepared for her, suddainly dyed.

Her Father lived in *London*, and that very Night she dyed she opened his Curtains and looked upon him. He had before heard nothing of her ilness, but upon this *Apparition* confidently told his Maid, that his Daughter was dead, and two days after received the news. Her Grandmother told Mrs. *Pearson* this, as also an Uncle of hers, and the abovesaid Maid, and this Mrs. *Pearson* I know, and she is a very prudent and good Woman.

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## RELAT. XIV.

*The appearing of the Ghost of one Mr.* Bower *of* Guilford, *to an Highway-man in Prison, as it is set down in a Letter of Dr.* Ezekias Burton, *to Dr.* H. More.

ABout Ten years ago one Mr. *Bower* an antient Man living at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, was upon the Highway not far from that place found newly Murdered very barbarously, having one great Cut cross his Throat, and another down his Breast. Two Men were seized upon suspicion, and put into Gaol at *Guilford* to another, who had before been committed for Robbing as I

ſuppoſe. That Night this third Man was awakened about one of the Clock and greatly terrified with an Old Man, who had a great gaſh croſs his Throat almoſt from Ear to Ear, and a wound down his Breaſt. He alſo came in ſtooping and holding his hand on his back. Thus he appeared but ſaid nothing. The Thief calls to his two new Companions, they grumbled at him but made no anſwer.

In the Morning he retained ſo lively an impreſſion of what he had ſeen, that he ſpoke to them to the ſame purpoſe again, and they told him it was nothing but his Phantaſy. But he was ſo fully perſwaded of the reality of this Apparition, that he told others of it, and it came to the Ears of my Friend Mr. *Reading* Juſtice of Peace in *Surrey*, and Couſin to the Gentleman that was Murdered.

He immediately ſent for the Priſoner and asked him in the firſt place whether he was born or had lived about *Guilford*? To which he anſwered, No. Secondly, He enquired if he knew any of the Inhabitants of that Town or of the Neighbourhood? He replied that he was a ſtranger to all thereabout. Then he enquired, if he had ever heard of one Mr. *Bower*? He ſaid No. After this he examined him for what cauſe thoſe other two Men were impriſoned? To which he anſwered,

ſwered, he knew not, but ſuppoſed for ſome Robbery.

After theſe preliminary Interrogatories he deſired him to tell him what he had ſeen in the Night: Which he immediately did, exactly according to the Relation he had heard, and I gave before. And withal deſcribed the Old Gentleman ſo by his picked beard, and that he was, as he called it, rough on his Cheeks, and that the Hairs of his Face were Black and White, that Mr. *Reading* ſaith he himſelf could not have given a more exact deſcription of Mr. *Bower*, than this was. He told the Highway-man that he muſt give him his Oath (though that would ſignifie little from ſuch a Rogue) to which the Man readily conſented, and took Oath before the Juſtice of all this.

Mr. *Reading* being a very diſcreet Man concealed this ſtory from the Jury at the Aſſizes, as knowing that this would be no evidence according to our Law. However the Friends of the Murdered Gentleman had been very inquiſitive, and diſcovered ſeveral ſuſpicious circumſtances. One of which was, that thoſe two Men had waſhed their Clothes, and that ſome ſtains of blood remained. Another, that one of them had denied he ever heard that Mr. *Bower* was dead, when as he had in another place confeſt it two hours before. Upon theſe and

ſuch

ſuch like evidences thoſe two were Condemned and Executed, but denied it to the laſt. But one of them ſaid, the other could clear him if he would, which the By-ſtanders underſtood not.

After ſome time a Tinker was hanged (where, the Gentleman has forgot) who at his death ſaid, that the Murder of Mr. *Bower* of *Guilford* was his greateſt trouble. For he had a hand in it; he confeſſed he ſtruck him a blow on the back which fetcht him from his Horſe, and when he was down, thoſe other Men that were Arraigned and Executed for it cut his Throat and rifled him. This is the firſt ſtory which I had from Mr. *Reading* himſelf, who is a very honeſt prudent perſon and not credulous.

I know you deſire to have the Names of all the perſons referred to in this Relation, and the exact time and place, but Mr. *Reading* cannot recollect them now, though he tells me he ſent an exact and full Narrative of all to one Mr. *Onſlow* a Juſtice of Peace in that Neighbourhood, with whom I have ſome acquaintance, and I will endeavour to retrieve it.

A D-

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*The Names of all the Persons and exact time and place of all the actions, I find not amongst Mr.* Glanvil's *Papers, but the story is so perfect as it is, and so credible, that I thought it worthy of a place amongst the rest. And this appearing of Mr.* Bower *is just such another thing as the appearing of* Anne Walker. *We proceed to the second story which Mr.* Reading *imparted to the Doctor.*

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## RELAT. XV.

*Another appearing of a Ghost of a Man of* Guilford, *for the recovery of a Field for his Child unjustly detained by his Brother, out of the abovesaid Letter of Dr.* Ezekias Burton *to Dr.* H. More.

AN Inhabitant of the before-named Town of *Guilford*, who was possest of some Copy-hold Land, which was to descend to his Children, or in default of such issue to his Brother, dies having no Child born. And his Wife apprehending her self not to be with Child (which her Husbands

Brother

Brother asked her immediately after his Brothers death) she told him she believed she was not, but afterward proved to be. Which when she knew she went, by the instigation of Neighbours, to her Brother, and told him how it was with her. He rated her, called her Whore, and told her that she had procured some body to get her with Child, knowing that such a Field must be inherited by the posterity of her Husband, but her Whoring should not fool him out of that Estate. The poor Woman went home troubled, that not only her Child should lose the Land, but which was worse, that she should be thought a Whore. However she quieted her self, and resolved to sit down with the loss.

When her time came she was delivered of a Son, he grew up and one Summers Night as she was undressing him in her yard, her Husband appeared, and bid her go to his Brother and demand the Field. Which she did, but was treated very ill by him. He told her that neither she nor her Devil (for she had told him her Husband appeared and bid her speak to him) should make him forgoe his land. Whereupon she went home again. But some time after as her Brother was going out of this Field homeward, the dead Man appears to him at the stile, and bids him give up the Land to

the Child, for it was his right. The Brother being greatly frighted at this, runs away, and not long after comes to her and tells her, he had ſent the Devil to him, and bids her take the Land, and ſo gave it up, and her Son is now poſſeſt of it. His Name is *Mat*, he lived in the Service of Mr. *Readings* Brother for ſome years, but he has forgot his Sir-name though he knows him very well.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*Though the Sir-name of the party be wanting, yet he is determinated ſo by other circumſtances, and the Story ſo freſh, and told by ſo credible a Perſon, that the Narrative is ſufficiently conſiderable as it is. But of Recovery of Land to the right Owners, the ſtory of Mrs.* Brettons *Ghoſt appearing is an eximious example, which is as follows.*

RELAT.

## RELAT. XVI.

*The appearing of the Ghost of Mrs.* Bretton, *for the recovery of some Lands into the hands of the Poor, taken from them by some mistake in Law or Right, as it is in a Narrative sent to Dr.* H. More *from Mr.* Edward Fowler, *Prebendary of* Glocester.

DR. *Bretton* late Rector of *Ludgate* and *Dedford*, lived formerly in *Herefordshire*, and Marryed the Daughter of Dr. *S*— This Gentlewoman was a person of extraordinary piety, which she expressed as in her life, so at her death. She had a Maid that she had a great kindness for, who was Married to a near Neighbour, whose name, as I remember, was *Alice*. Not long after her death, as *Alice* was rocking her Infant in the night, she was called from the Cradle by a knocking at her door, which opening she was surprised at the sight of a Gentlewoman not to be distinguisht from her late Mistress, neither in Person nor habit. She was in a Morning-Gown, the same in appearance with that she had often seen her Mistress wear. At first sight she expressed very great amazement, and said, Were not

my

my Miſtreſs dead, I ſhould not queſtion but that you are ſhe. She replied I am the ſame that was your Miſtreſs, and took her by the hand. Which *Alice* affirmed was as cold as a Clod.

She added, That ſhe had buſineſs of great importance to imploy her in, and that ſhe muſt immediately go a little way with her. *Alice* trembled, and beſeecht her to excuſe her, and intreated her very importunately to go to her Maſter, who muſt needs be more fit to be imployed. She anſwered, that he who was her Husband was not at all concerned, but yet ſhe had had a deſire rather to make uſe of him, and in order thereunto had ſeveral times been in his Chamber, but he was ſtill aſleep, nor had ſhe power to do more than once uncover his feet towards the awakening of him. And the Doctor ſaid, that he had heard walking in his Chamber in the night, which till now he could give no account of. *Alice* next objected that her husband was gone a journey, and ſhe had no one to look to her Child, that it was very apt to cry vehemently, and ſhe feared if it awaked before her return, it would cry it ſelf to death, or do it ſelf miſchief. The Spectre replied, The Child ſhall ſleep till you return.

*Alice* ſeeing there was no avoiding it, ſorely againſt her will, followed her over a ſtyle into a large Field, who then ſaid to her,

her, obſerve how much of this Field I meaſure with my Feet. And when ſhe had taken a good large and leiſurely compaſs, ſhe ſaid, all this belongs to the Poor, it being gotten from them by wrongful means, and charged her to go and tell her Brother, whoſe it was at that time, that he ſhould give it up to the Poor again forthwith as he loved her and his deceaſed Mother. This Brother was not the Perſon who did this unjuſt act, but his Father. She added, that ſhe was the more concerned, becauſe her name was made uſe of in ſome writing that related to this Land.

*Alice* askt her how ſhe ſhould ſatisfy her Brother that this was no Cheat or deluſion of her Phanſy. She replied, tell him this ſecret, which he knows that only himſelf and I are privy to, and he will believe you. *Alice* having promiſed her to go on this Errand, ſhe proceeded to give her good advice, and entertained her all the reſt of the Night with moſt Heavenly and Divine diſcourſe. When the Twilight appeared they heard the whiſtling of Carters and the noiſe of Horſe-Bells. Whereupon the Spectre ſaid, *Alice* I muſt be ſeen by none but your ſelf, and ſo ſhe diſappeared.

Immediately *Alice* makes all haſte home, being thoughtful for her Child, but found it as the Spectre had ſaid, aſleep as ſhe left it.

When

When she had dressed it, and committed it to the care of a Neighbour, away she went to her Master the Doctor, who amazed at the account she gave him, sent her to his Brother in Law. He at first hearing *Alice*'s story and message, laughed at it heartily. But she had no sooner told him the secret, but he changed his countenance, told her he would give the Poor their own, and accordingly he did it, and they now enjoy it.

This with more circumstances hath several times been related by Dr. *Bretton* himself, who was well known to be a person of great goodness and sincerity. He gave a large Narrative of this Apparition of his Wife to two of my Friends. First, to one Mrs. *Needham*, and afterward a little before his death to Dr. *Whichcot*.

Some years after I received the foregoing Narrative (*viz.* near four years since) I light into the company of three sober persons of good rank, who all lived in the City of *Hereford*, and I travelled in a Stage-Coach three days with them. To them I happened to tell this story, but told it was done at *Deptford*, for so I presumed it was, because I knew that there Dr. *Bretton* lived. They told me as soon as I had concluded it, that the story was very true in the main, only I was out as to the place. For 'twas not *Deptford*, but as I remember they told me

*Pembridge* near *Hereford*, where the Doctor was Minister before the Return of the King. And they assured me upon their own knowledge, that to that day the Poor enjoyed the piece of ground. They added, That Mrs. *Bretton*'s Father could never endure to hear any thing mentioned of his Daughters appearing after her death, but would still reply in great anger, that it was not his Daughter, but it was the Devil. So that he acknowledged that something appeared in the likeness of his Daughter.

This is attested by me this *16th.* of *Feb.* 168$\frac{9}{1}$.

*Edward Fowler.*

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## RELAT. XVII.

### *Of a* Dutch *Man that could see Ghosts, and of the Ghost he saw in the Town of* Woodbridge *in* Suffolk.

MR. *Broom* the Minister of *Woodbridge* in *Suffolk*, meeting one day, in a Barbers shop in that Town, a *Dutch* Lieutenant (who was blown up with *Obdam*, and taken alive out of the Water, and carried to that Town where he was a Prisoner at large) upon the occa-

occaſion of ſome diſcourſe was told by him, that he could ſee Ghoſts, and that he had ſeen divers. Mr. *Broom* rebuking him for talking ſo idly, he perſiſted in it very ſtiffly. Some days after lighting upon him again, he askt him whether he had ſeen any Ghoſt ſince his coming to that Town. To which he replyed, No.

But not long after this, as they were walking together up the Town, he ſaid to Mr. *Broom*, Yonder comes a Ghoſt. He ſeeing nothing, askt him whereabout it was? The other ſaid, it is over againſt ſuch a houſe, and it walks looking upwards towards ſuch a ſide, flinging one arm with a Glove in its hand. He ſaid moreover, that when it came near them, they muſt give way to it. That he ever did ſo, and ſome that have not done ſo, have ſuffered for it. Anon he ſaid, 'tis juſt upon us, let's out of the way. Mr. *Broom* believing all to be a fiction, as ſoon as he ſaid thoſe words, took hold of his Arm, and kept him by force in the way. But as he held him, there came ſuch a force againſt them, that he was flung into the middle of the ſtreet, and one of the palms of his hands, and one knee bruiſed and broken by the fall, which put him for a while to exceſſive pain.

But ſpying the Lieutenant lye like a dead man, he got up as ſoon as he could, and ap-

plied himſelf to his relief. With the help of others he got him into the next ſhop, where they poured ſtrong-water down his Throat, but for ſome time could diſcern no Life in him. At length, what with the ſtrong-water, and what with well chafing him he began to ſtirr, and when he was come to himſelf, his firſt words were, I will ſhew you no more Ghoſts. Then he deſired a Pipe of Tobacco, but Mr. *Broom* told him, he ſhould take it at his houſe; for he feared, ſhould he take it ſo ſoon there, it would make him ſick.

Thereupon they went together to Mr. *Broom*'s houſe, where they were no ſooner entring in, but the Bell rang out. Mr. *Broom* preſently ſent his Maid to learn who was dead. She brought word that it was ſuch an One, a Taylor, who dyed ſuddenly, though he had been in a Conſumption a long time. And inquiring after the time of his death, they found it was as punctually as it could be gueſſed at the very time when the Ghoſt appeared. The Ghoſt had exactly this Taylors known Gate, who ordinarily went alſo with one Arm ſwinging, and a Glove in that hand, and looking on one ſide upwards.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*This Relation was ſent to Dr.* H. More *from Mr.* Edw. Fowler; *at the end whereof he writes, that Dr.* Burton *as well as himſelf, heard it from Mr.* Broom's *own mouth. And I can add, that I alſo afterwards heard it from his own mouth at* London.

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## RELAT. XVIII.

*An* Iriſh *ſtory of one that had like to have been carried away by Spirits, and of the Ghoſt of a Man who had been ſeven years dead, that brought a Medicine to the aboveſaid parties Bed-ſide.*

A Gentleman in *Ireland* near to the Earl of *Ororie*'s, ſending his Butler one afternoon to buy Cards; as he paſſed a Field, he, to his wonder, eſpyed a company of people ſitting round a Table, with a deal of good cheer before them in the midſt of the Field. And he going up towards them, they all aroſe and ſaluted him, and deſired him to ſit down with them. But one of them whiſpered theſe words in his Ear; *Do nothing this company invites you to.* He thereupon refuſed

to ſit down at the Table, and immediately Table and all that belonged to it were gone. And the company are now dancing and playing upon Muſical Inſtruments. And the Butler being deſired to joyn himſelf to them, but he refuſing this alſo, they fall all to work, and he not being to be prevailed with to accompany them in working any more than in feaſting or dancing, they all diſappeared, and the Butler is now alone. But inſtead of going forwards, home he returns as faſt as he could drive, in a great conſternation of mind. And was no ſooner entred his Maſters door, but down he falls, and lay ſome time ſenſleſs, but coming to himſelf again, he related to his Maſter what had happened to him.

The night following, there comes one of this company to his Bed-ſide, and tells him, that if he offered to ſtir out of doors the next day, he would be carryed away. Hereupon he kept within, but towards the Evening, having need to make water, he adventured to put one foot over the threſhold, ſeveral ſtanding by. Which he had no ſooner done, but they eſpied a Rope caſt about his middle, and the poor Man was hurried away with great ſwiftneſs, they following after him as faſt as they could, but could not overtake him. At length they eſpyed a Horſeman coming towards them, and made ſigns to him

him to ſtop the Man, whom he ſaw coming near him, and both the ends of the Rope but no body drawing. When they met, he laid hold on one end of the Rope, and immediately had a ſmart blow given him over his Arm with the other end. But by this means the Man was ſtopt, and the Horſeman brought him back with him.

The Earl of *Orory* hearing of theſe ſtrange paſſages, ſent to the Maſter to deſire him to ſend this Man to his Houſe, which he accordingly did. And the morning following, or quickly after, he told the Earl that his Spectre had been with him again, and aſſured him that that day he ſhould moſt certainly be carried away, and that no endeavours ſhould avail to the ſaving of him. Upon this he was kept in a large room, with a conſiderable number of perſons to guard him, among whom was the famous ſtroker Mr. *Greatrix*, who was a neighbor. There were beſides other Perſons of Quality, two Biſhops in the houſe at the ſame time, who were conſulted touching the making uſe of a Medicine the Spectre or Ghoſt preſcribed, of which, mention will be made anon, but they determined on the Negative. But this by the By.

Till part of the Afternoon was ſpent all was quiet, but at length he was perceived to riſe from the ground, whereupon

Mr. *Greatrix* and another lusty Man clapt their Arms over his shoulders, one of them before him, and the other behind, and weighed him down with all their strength. But he was forcibly taken up from them, and they were too weak to keep their hold, and for a considerable time he was carried in the Air to and fro over their heads, several of the Company still running under him to prevent his receiving hurt if he should fall. At length he fell and was caught before he came to ground, and had by that means no hurt.

All being quiet till bed-time, My Lord ordered two of his Servants to lye with him, and the next Morning he told his Lordship, that his Spectre was again with him, and brought a wooden dish with grey liquor in it, and bad him drink it off. At the first sight of the Spectre he said he endeavoured to awake his bedfellows, but it told him that that endeavour should be in vain, and that he had no cause to fear him, he being his Friend, and he that at first gave him the good advice in the Field, which had he not followed, he had been before now perfectly in the power of the Company he saw there. He added, that he concluded it was impossible but that he should have been carried away the day before, there being so strong a Combination against him. But now he could

assure

assure him that there would be no more attempts of that nature, but he being troubled with two sorts of sad fits he had brought that liquor to cure him of them, and bad him drink it. He peremptorily refusing, the Spectre was angry, upbraided him with great disingenuity, but told him that however he had a kindness for him, and that if he would take Plantain juice he should be well of one sort of fits, but he should carry the other to his Grave. The poor Man having by this time somewhat recovered himself, ask't the Spectre whether by the juice of Plantain he meant that of the Leaves or Roots? It replied, the Roots.

Then it askt him whether he did not know him? He answered, No. He replied, I am such a one? The Man answered: He hath been long dead. I have been dead said the Spectre or Ghost seven years, and you know that I lived a loose life. And ever since have I been hurried up and down in a restless Condition with the Company you saw, and shall be to the day-of Judgment. Then he proceeded to tell him, that had he acknowledged God in his ways, he had not suffered such severe things by their means. And further said, you never prayed to God that day before you met with this Company in the Field, and also was then going about an unlawful business, and so vanisht.

A D-

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*This story was also sent from Mr.* E. Fowler *to Dr.* H. More, *concerning which he further adds by way of Postscript, that Mr.* Greatrix *told this story to Mrs.* Foxcraft *at* Ragley, *and at her request he told it a second time in her hearing at the Table. My Lady* Roydon *being then present, inquired afterwards concerning it of My Lord* Orory, *who confirmed the truth of it, acknowledging all the circumstances of this Narrative to My Lady* Roydon *to be true except that passage, That the Spectre told the Man that he was that day going about an unlawful business. And Mr.* Fowler *further adds, that since an eminent Doctor in this City told me that My Lord told him, that he saw at his own house a Man taken up into the Air.*

*Lastly, I find Dr.* H. More *in a Letter to Mr.* Glanvil, *affirming that he also heard Mr.* Greatrix *tell the story at My Lord* Conway's *at* Ragley, *and that he particularly inquired of Mr.* Greatrix *about the Mans being carried up into the Air above Mens heads in the room, and that he did expresly affirm that he was an Eye-witness thereof.*

## RELAT. XIX.

### *The miraculous Cure of* Jesch Claes *a Dutch Woman of* Amsterdam, *accompanied with an* Apparition.

THe Narrative taken by a Dutch Merchant from her own Mouth begins thus. A miraculous Cure upon *Jesch Claes*, a Woman about fifty years of Age: For this many years well known to my self and the Neighbours. This Woman for fourteen years had been lame of both Legs, one of them being dead and without feeling, so that she could not go but creep upon the ground, or was carried in Peoples Arms as a Child, but now through the power of God Almighty she hath walked again. Which came to pass after this manner, as I have taken it from her own Mouth.

In the year 1676. about the 13th or 14th of this Month *October*, in the Night between one and two of the Clock, this *Jesch Claes* being in bed with her Husband who was a Boatman, she was three times pulled by her Arm, with which she awaked and cryed out, O Lord! What may this be? Hereupon she heard an answer in plain words:

Be

Be not afraid, I come in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt. Your malady which hath for many years been upon you ſhall ceaſe, and it ſhall be given you from God Almighty to walk again. But keep this to your ſelf till further anſwer. Whereupon ſhe cried aloud, O Lord! That I had a light, that I might know what this is. Then had ſhe this anſwer, There needs no light, the light ſhall be given you from God. Then came light all over the room, and ſhe ſaw a beautiful Youth about Ten years of Age, with Curled Yellow Hair Clothed in White to the Feet, who went from the Beds-head to the Chimney with a light which a little after vaniſhed. Hereupon did there ſhoot ſomething or guſh from her Hip, or diffuſe it ſelf through her Leg as a Water into her great Toe, where ſhe did find life riſing up, felt it with her hand, crying out, Lord give me now again my feeling which I have not had in ſo many years. And further ſhe continued crying and praying to the Lord according to her weak meaſure.

Yet ſhe continued that day *Wedneſday*, and the next day *Thurſday*, as before till Evening at ſix a Clock. At which time ſhe ſate at the fire dreſſing the food. Then came as like a ruſhing noiſe in both her Ears, with which it was ſaid to her *Stand*. Your going

is given you again. Then did she immediately stand up that had so many years crept, and went to the door. Her Husband meeting her being exceedingly afraid drew back. In the mean while she cryed out, My dear Husband I can go again. The Man thinking it was a Spirit drew back, saying, you are not my Wife. His Wife taking hold of him said, My dear Husband I am the self same that hath been Married these Thirty years to you. The Almighty God hath given my going again. But her Husband being amazed drew back to the side of the room, till at last she clasp't her hand about his neck, and yet he doubted and said to his Daughter, is this your Mother? She answered, yes Father, this we plainly see. I had seen her go also before you came in. This Person dwells upon *Princes Island* in *Amsterdam*.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*This account was sent from a* Dutch *Merchant procured by a Friend for* Dr. R. Cudworth, *and contains the main Particulars that occur in the Dutch Printed Narrative, which Monsieur* Van Helmont *brought over with him to my Lady* Conway *at* Ragley, *who having inquired upon the Spot when he was there at* Amsterdam, *though*

*though of a Genius not at all credulous of such Relations, found the thing to be really true. As also* Philippus Limbergius *in a Letter to Dr.* H. More, *sent this Testimony touching the party cured, That she was always reputed a very honest good Woman, and that he believed there was no fraud at all in the business.*

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## RELAT. XX.

*An house haunted some Thirty years ago or more at or near* Bow, *not far from* London, *and strangely disturbed by* Dæmons *and* Witches.

A Certain Gentleman about Thirty years ago or more, being to Travel from *London* into *Essex*, and to pass through *Bow*; at the request of a Friend he called at a house there, which began then to be a little disquieted. But not any thing much remarkable yet, unless of a young Girl who was pluckt by the Thigh by a cold hand in her bed who dyed within a few days after.

Some weeks after this his occasions calling him back he passed by the same house again, but had no design to give them a new visit, he having done that not long before. But it happening that the Woman of the house

stood

ſtood at the Door, he thought himſelf engaged to ride to her and ask how ſhe did? To whom ſhe anſwered with a ſorrowful Countenance; That though ſhe was in tolerable health, yet things went very ill with hem, their houſe being extreamly haunted ſpecially above ſtairs, ſo that they were orced to keep in the low rooms, there was uch flinging of things up and down, of tones and Bricks through the Windows nd putting all in diſorder. But he could arce forbear laughing at her, giving ſo ttle credit to ſuch ſtories himſelf, and hought it was the tricks onely of ſome unappy Wags to make ſport to themſelves nd trouble to their Neighbours.

Well ſays ſhe, if you will but ſtay a while ou may chance to ſee ſomething with your wn Eyes. And indeed he had not ſtayed ny conſiderable time with her in the ſtreet, ut a Window of an upper room opened of ſelf (for they of the Family took it for ranted no body was above ſtairs) and out omes a piece of an old Wheel through it. Whereupon it preſently clapt to again. A ttle while after it ſuddainly flew open gain and out come a Brick-bat, which inamed the Gentleman with a more eager eſire to ſee what the matter was, and to iſcover the Knavery. And therefore he oldly reſolved if any one would go up with him,

him, he would in to the Chamber. But none preſent durſt accompany him. Yet the keen deſire of diſcovering the cheat, made him adventure by himſelf alone into that Room. Into which when he was come, he ſaw the Bedding, Chairs and Stools, and Candleſticks, and Bedſtaves, and all the furniture rudely ſcattered on the floor, but upon ſearch found no mortal in the Room.

Well! he ſtays there a while to try concluſions, anon a Bedſtaff begins to move, and turn it ſelf round a good while together upon its Toe, and at laſt fairly to lay it ſelf down again. The curious Spectator, when he had obſerved it to lye ſtill a while, ſteps out to it, views it whether any ſmall ſtring or hair were tyed to it, or whether there were any hole or button to faſten any ſuch ſtring to, or any hole or ſtring in the Ceiling above; but after ſearch, he found not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any ſuch thing.

He retires to the Window again, and obſerves a little longer what may fall out. Anon, another Bedſtaff riſes off from the ground of its own accord higher into the air, and ſeems to make towards him. He now begins to think there was ſomething more than ordinary in the buſineſs, and preſently makes to the door with all ſpeed, and for better caution ſhuts it after him. Which was preſently opened again, and ſuch a

clatte

clatter of Chairs, and Stools, and Candlesticks, and Bedstaves, sent after him down Stairs, as if they intended to have maimed him, but their motion was so moderated, that he received no harm, but by this time he was abundantly assured, that it was not mere Womanish fear or superstition that so affrighted the Mistress of the house. And while in a low Room he was talking with the Family about these things, he saw a Tobacco-pipe rise from a side Table, no body being nigh, and fly to the other side of the Room, and break it self against the wall for his further confirmation, that it was neither the tricks of Waggs, nor the fancy of a Woman, but the mad frolicks of Witches and Dæmons. Which they of the house being fully perswaded of, roasted a Bedstaff, upon which an Old Woman a suspected Witch came to the House, and was apprehended, but escaped the Law. But the House was after so ill haunted in all the Rooms, upper and lower, that the house stood empty for a long time after.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*This Story is found amongst Mr.* Glanvil's *Papers, written to him from* Dr. H. More, *who ſays, ſome three months before, he had received it from the parties own mouth, that was at the haunted houſe in* Bow, *and ſaw the motion of the Bedſtaves and Tobacco-pipe, &c. And I very well remember, that about Thirty or Forty years ago, there was a great fame of an houſe haunted at* Bow, *and ſuch like feats as this Spectator ſaw, was rumoured of it, and the time agrees with that of this Spectator or Eye-witneſs of the above recited Feats. And a Book was then ſaid to be Printed, though I never ſaw any but one of late without any date of the year, the things then being in* Fieri, *when it was Printed. And they ſeem to referr to the ſame haunted place, though the Pamphlet names* Plaiſto *for* Bow. *But the haunting of which the fame went ſo many years ago I very well remember was* Bow. *But whether* Bow *was talked of inſtead of* Plaiſto, *it being a place near, and of more note, I know not. And* Paul Fox *a Weaver, was the Man whoſe houſe was haunted in* Plaiſto *according to that Pamphlet.*

*If the Gentleman that ſo well remembers the ſtrange things he ſaw, had not forgot the Mans*

*name*

*name whose house was haunted (and the strangeness of those things would fix themselves in his memory, even whether he would or no, when the name of the Master of the house might easily in Thirty or Forty years time slide out of it) we might be sure whether it were* Plaisto *or* Bow. *But I am sure the fame went of* Bow, *though the Pamphlet name* Plaisto, *and that might make the abovesaid Party, who told Dr.* More *the story, fix the Scene without all scruple in* Bow.

*But methinks I hear the Reader complain; that it was a great omission in Mr.* Glanvil, *that he did not inquire of Dr.* More *who this party was that told him the story, it seeming an headless piece without that part. Wherefore I find in a Paper (whose Title is Doctor* More's Particulars about the Stories) *these words in answer to Mr.* Glanvil. *That it is Dr.* Gibbs *a Prebendary of* Westminster, *and a sober intelligent person. And some dozen lines after, Dr.* More *says, Dr.* Gibbs *told the story to my self, and to Dr.* Outram, *who brought me to him. And I have told you already, that he is a person of understanding and integrity. He has also some Sermons in Print as I take it.*

*But forasmuch as it was about three months after Dr.* More *had received this account of the story from Dr.* Gibbs, *that he wrote to Mr.* Glanvil, *it is not to be expected that he re-*

*lated it in the very ſame words, and in every punctilio as he heard it. But I dare undertake for him that for the main, and that which makes to the evincing of Witchcraft, and the ludicrous Feats of Dæmons, that he hath committed no errour therein, nor ſet down any thing whoſe ſubſtance was not related to him by the Reverend Dr.* Gibbs.

## RELAT. XXI.

*Mr.* Jermin's *ſtory of an houſe haunted, and what diſturbance himſelf was a Witneſs of there at a viſit of his Wife's Siſter.*

ONe Mr. *Jermin* Miniſter of *Bigner* in *Suſſex*, going to ſee a Siſter of his Wife's, found her very Melancholy, and asking her the reaſon, ſhe replyed, You ſhall know to morrow morning. When he went to Bed there were two Maids accompanied him in his Chamber, and the next day he underſtood that they durſt not go into any Room in the houſe alone.

In the night, while he was in his Bed, he heard the trampling of many feet upon the Leads over his head, and after that the going off of a Gun, upon which followed

a great ſilence. Then they came ſwiftly down Stairs into his Chamber, where they fell a wreſtling and tumbling each other down, and ſo continued a great while. After they were quiet, they fell a whiſpering and made a great buzz, of which he could underſtand nothing. Then one called at the door, and ſaid, *Day is broke, come away.* Upon which they ran up Stairs as faſt as they could drive, and ſo he heard no more of them.

In the morning his Brother and Siſter came in to him, and ſhe ſaid, Now Brother you know why I am ſo melancholy, after ſhe had askt him how he had ſlept, and he had anſwered, I never reſted worſe in my life, having been diſturbed a great part of the night with tumblings and noiſes. She complained that her Husband would force her to live there, notwithſtanding their being continually ſcared. Whereto the Huſband anſwered, Their diſturbers never did them any other miſchief.

At Dinner they had a Phyſician with them, who was an acquaintance. Mr. *Jermin* diſcourſing about this diſturbance, the Phyſician alſo anſwered that never any hurt was done, of which he gave this inſtance: That Dining there one day, there came a Man on Horſeback into the yard in mourning. His Servant went to know what was

his buſineſs; and found him ſitting very melancholy, nor could he get any anſwer from him. The Maſter of the Houſe and the Phyſician went forth to ſee who it was. Upon which the Man clapt Spurs to his Horſe, and rode into the houſe up Stairs into a long Gallery whither the Phyſician followed him, and ſaw him vaniſh in a fire at the upper end of the Gallery. But though none of the Family received hurt at any time; yet Mr. *Jermin* fell into a Feaver with the diſturbance he experienced that indangered his Life.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*Mr.* Scot *and his Wife heard this Narrative from Mr.* Jermin's *own mouth. And I alſo have heard it from Mr.* Scot, *who is a Miniſter of* London, *and the Authour of a late excellent good Treatiſe, which is entitled,* The Chriſtian Life, *&c.*

# RELAT. XXII.

*Contained in a Letter of Mr.* G. Clark, *to Mr.* M. T. *touching an houſe haunted in* Welton *near* Daventry.

SIR,

I Send you here a Relation of a very memorable piece of Witchcraft as I ſuppoſe, which would fit Mr. *More* gallantly. I firſt heard the ſtory related to Sir *Juſtinian Iſham* by a Reverend Miniſter, of his own experience. Sir *Juſtinian* would have had me gone to the place, which I could not then do. But a little after going to viſit a friend, and not thinking of this, my friend told me the ſtory, the place being near him, and the principal man concerned in the ſtory being a Relation of his, and one that I my ſelf had ſome acquaintance with. He had occaſion to go to this Mans houſe for ſome deeds of Land, and I went with him for ſatisfaction touching this ſtory, which I had to the full, and in which I could not but acquieſce, though otherwiſe I

am very chary, and hard enough to believe paſſages of this nature.

The Story is this, At *Welton* within a Mile of *Daventry* in *Northamptonſhire*, where live together *Widdow Cowley*, the Grandmother, *Widdow Stiff* the Mother, and her two Daughters. At the next houſe but one, live another *Widdow Cowley*, Siſter to the former *Widdow Cowley*, *Moſes Cowley* my acquaintance her Son, and *Moſes* his Wife, having a good Eſtate in Land of their own, and very civil and orderly people. Theſe three told me, that the younger of the two Daughters, ten years of age, Vomited in leſs than three days, three Gallons of Water to their great Admiration. After this the elder Wench comes running, and tells them, that now her Siſter begins to Vomit Stones and Coals. They went and were Eye-witneſſes, told them till they came to Five hundred. Some weighed a quarter of a pound, and were ſo big, as they had enough to do to get them out of her mouth, and he profeſſed to me, that he could ſcarce get the like into his mouth, and I do not know how any one ſhould, if they were ſo big as he ſhewed the like to me. I have ſent you one, but not a quarter ſo big as ſome of them were. It was one of the biggeſt of them that were left and kept in a bag. This Vomiting laſt-

ed

ed about a fortnight, and hath Witneſſes good ſtore.

In the mean time they threw hards of Flax upon the fire, which would not blaze though blown, but dwindled away. The Bed-clothes would be thrown off the Bed. *Moſes Cowley* told me, that he laid them on again ſeveral times, they all coming out of the Room, and go but into the Parlour again, and they were off again. And a ſtrike of Wheat ſtanding at the Beds feet, ſet it how they would, it would be thrown down again. Once the Coffers and things were ſo tranſpoſed, as they could ſcarce ſtir about the Room. Once he laid the Bible upon the Bed, but the Clothes were thrown off again, and the Bible hid in another Bed. And when they were all gone into the Parlour, as they uſed to go together, then things would be tranſpoſed in the Hall, their Wheel taken in pieces, and part of it thrown under the Table. In their Buttery their Milk would be taken off the Table, and ſet on the ground, and once one Panchion was broken, and the Milk ſpilt. A ſeven-pound weight with a ring was hung upon the Spigot, and the Beer mingled with Sand and all ſpoiled, their Salt mingled moſt perfectly with Bran.

*Moſes*

*Moſes* his Mother ſaid that their Flax was thrown out of a Box, ſhe put it in again, it was thrown out again; ſhe put it in again and lockt the Box, trying by the haſp or lid (as they uſe to do) whether it was faſt, it was ſo. But as ſoon as her back was turned the Box was unlocked, and the Flax was thrown out again. *Moſes* ſaid that when he was coming out of the Parlour, he ſaw a loaf of Bread tumbled off the form, and that was the firſt thing he ſaw. After a Womans Patten roſe up in the houſe, and was thrown at them. He heard the Comb break in the Window, and preſently it flew at them in two pieces. A Knife roſe up in the Window, and flew at a Man, hitting him with the haft. An Ink-glaſs was thrown out of the Window into the floor, and by and by the ſtopple came after it. Then every day abundance of ſtones were thrown about the houſe which broke the Windows, and hat the People, but they were the leſs troubled, becauſe all this while no hurt was done to their Perſons, and a great many People being in the room the wheat was thrown about amongſt them.

I was in the houſe where I ſaw the Windows which were ſtill broken, and the

People

People themſelves ſhewed me where the ſeveral particulars were done. The Grandmother told me that ſhe thought ſhe had loſt half a ſtrike of Wheat, and the like happened to ſome Fitches in the Barn. One Mr. *Robert Clark* a Gentleman being hat with the ſtones, bad the Baker at the Door look to his Bread well, and by and by a handful of crums were thrown into his lap. They could ſee the things as they came, but no more.

~~At laſt ſome that had been long ſuſpected~~ for Witches were Examined, and one ſent to the Gaol, where it is ſaid ſhe plays her pranks, but that is of doubtful credit. I asked the Old Woman whether they were free now. She ſaid that one Night ſince, they heard great knockings and cruel noiſe, which ſcared them worſe than all the reſt, and once or twice that week her cheeſe was crumbled into pieces and ſpoiled. I was there about *May-day*, 1658. This is all that I remember at preſent. I have heard ſeveral other ſtories, and two or three notable ones lately from Mens own Experience, which in reaſon I was to believe as I did. But in my Judgment this outgoes all that I know of, it having ſo much of ſenſe and of the day time, ſo many and ſo credible Witneſſes beyond all cavil and exception.

exception. I will trouble you no further, but commending you to the protection of God Almighty, I take my leave and rest

Yours,

Loddington *May* 22th. 1658.

*G. Clark.*

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## RELAT. XXIII.

*The Relation of* James Sherring, *taken concerning the matter at Old* Gaſt's *houſe of little* Burton, *June* 23. 1677. *as follows.*

THe firſt Night that I was there with *Hugh Mellmore* and *Edward Smith*, they heard as it were the waſhing in water over their heads. Then taking a Candle and going up the ſtairs there was a wet Cloth thrown at them, but it fell on the ſtairs. They going up farther then, there was another thrown as before. And when they came up into the Chamber there ſtood

a bowl of water, ſome of it ſprinkled over, and the water looked white as if there had been Sope uſed in it. The Bowl juſt before was in the Kitchin, and could not be carried up but through the room where they were. The next thing that they heard the ſame Night was a terrible noiſe as if it had been a ſlat of Thunder, and ſhortly after they heard great ſcratching about the Bedſted, and after that a great knocking with a Hammer againſt the Beds-head, ſo that the two Maids that were in the Bed cryed out for help. Then they ran up the ſtairs, and there lay the Hammer on the Bed and on the Beds-head, there were near a Thouſand prints of the Hammer which the violent ſtrokes had made. The Maids ſaid that they were ſcratched and pinched with a hand that was put into the Bed which had exceeding long Nails. They ſaid that the Hammer was locked faſt up in the Cupboard when they went to Bed. This was that which was done the firſt Night, with many other things of the like nature.

The ſecond Night that *James Sherring* and *Tho. Hillary* were there, *James Sherring* ſat down in the Chimney to fill a Pipe of Tobacco. He made uſe of the fire-tongs to take up a Coal to fire his Pipe, and by

and

and by the Tongs were drawn up the ſtairs, and after they were up in the Chamber, they were played withall as many times Men do, and then thrown down upon the Bed. Although the Tongs were ſo near him, he never perceived the going of them away. The ſame Night one of the Maids left her ſhoos by the fire, and they were carried up into the Chamber, and the Old Mans brought down and ſet in their places. The ſame Night there was a Knife carried up into the Chamber, and it did ſcratch and ſcrape the Beds-head all the Night, but when they went up into the Chamber the Knife was thrown into the Loft. As they were going up the ſtairs there were things thrown at them, which were juſt before in the low room, and when they went down the ſtairs the Old Mans Breeches were thrown down after them. Theſe were the moſt remarkable things done that Night, onely there was continual knocking and pinching the Maids, which was uſually done every Night.

The third Night, when *James Sherring* and *Thomas Hillery* were there, as ſoon as the People were gone to bed, their Clothes were taken and thrown at the Candle and put it out, and immediately after they

cried

cried out with a very hideous cry and ſaid, they ſhould be all choaked if they were not preſently helped. Then they ran up the ſtairs and there was abundance of Feathers plucked out of the Bolſter that lay under their Heads, and ſome thruſt into their Mouths that they were almoſt choaked. The Feathers were thrown all about the Bed and room. They were plucked out at a hole no bigger than the top of ones little finger. Some time after they were vexed with a very hideous knocking at their heads as they lay on the Bed. Then *James Sherring* and *Thomas Hillery* took the Candle and went up ſtairs and ſtood at the Beds feet, and the knocking continued. Then they ſaw a Hand with an Arm-wriſt hold the Hammer which kept on knocking againſt the Bedſted. Then *James Sherring* going towards the Beds-head, the Hand and Hammer fell down behind the Bolſter and could not be found. For they turned up the Bed-clothes to ſearch for the Hammer. But as ſoon as they went down the ſtairs the Hammer was thrown out into the middle of the Chamber. Theſe were the moſt remarkable things that were done that Night.

The fourth and fifth Nights, there was but

but little done more than knocking and scratching as was usually.

The sixth and seventh Nights, there was nothing at all but as quiet as at other houses. These were all the Nights that they were there.

The things that do follow are what *James Sherring* heard the People of the house report.

There was a Saddle in the house of their Uncle *Warrens* of *Leigh*, (which it should seem they detained wrongfully from the right owner) that as it did hang upon a Pin in the entry would come off and come into the house, and as they termed it, hop about the house from one place to another, and upon the Table, and so to another, which stood on the other side of the house. *Jane Gast* and her Kinswoman took this Saddle and carried it to *Leigh*, and as they were going along in the broad Common, there would be sticks and stones thrown at them, which made them very much afraid, and going near together their Whittles which were on their shoulders were knit together. They carried the Saddle to the house which was Old *Warrens*, and there left it and returned home very quiet. But being gone to Bed

at Night the Saddle was brought back from *Leigh*, (which is a Mile and half at the leaſt from Old *Gaſts* Houſe) and thrown upon the Bed where the Maids lay. After that, the Saddle was very troubleſome to them, until they broke it in ſmall pieces and threw it out into the Highway.

There was a Coat of the ſame Parties, who was owner of the Saddle, which did hang on the door in the Hall, and it came off from the place and flew into the fire and lay there ſome conſiderable time, before they could get it out. For it was as much as three of them could do to pluck it out of the fire, becauſe of the ponderous weight that lay on it, as they thought. Nevertheleſs there was no impreſſion on it of the fire.

Old *Gaſt* ſat at Dinner with a Hat of this Old *Warrens* on his Head, and there was ſomething came and ſtruck it off into the Diſh where his Meat was.

There was a Pole which ſtood in the back-ſide about Fourteen or Fifteen Foot in length, which was brought into the Houſe, and carried up into the Cham-

ber, and thrown on the Bed; but all the Wit they had could not get it out of the Chamber, becauſe of its length, until they took down a light of the Window. They report that the things in the Houſe was thrown about and broken, to their great dammage.

One Night there were two of this Old *Gaſt* his Grand-daughters in Bed together, they were aged, One of them about Twelve or Thirteen years, and the other about Sixteen or Seventeen. They ſaid, that they felt a Hand in Bed with them, which they bound up in the Sheet, and took Bed-ſtaves and beat it until it were as ſoft as Wool, then they took a Stone which lay in the Chamber, about a quarter of an Hundred weight, and put on it, and were quiet all the Night. In the Morning, they found it as they left it the Night before. Then the eldeſt of the Maids ſware that ſhe would burn the Devil, and goes and fetches a Fuz Faggot to burn it, but when ſhe came again, the Stone was thrown away, and the Cloth was found wet.

There were many other things which is too long and tedious to write, it would take up a great deal of time.

This

This which follows is the Relation of *Jone Winſor* of long *Burton*, ſhe being there Three Nights, taken the Third day of *July*, 1677.

She heard or ſaw nothing as long as the Candle did burn, but as ſoon as it was out, there was ſomething which did ſeem to fall down by the Bed-ſide, and by and by it began to lay on the Beds-head vvith a Staffe, and did ſtrike *Jone winſor* on the Head. She put forth her Hand and caught it, but was not able to hold it faſt. She got out of the Bed to light a Candle, and there was a great Stone thrown after her, but it miſſed her. When the Candle was lighted, they aroſe and went down to the Fire. One of them went up to fetch the Bed-clothes to make a Bed by the Fire, and there lay a heap of Stones on the Bed vvhereon they lay juſt before. As ſoon as the Bed vvas made, and they laid down to take their reſt, there was a ſcratching on the Form that ſtood by them in an extream manner. Then it came, and did heave up the Bolſter whereon they laid their Heads, and did endeavour to throw them out. At laſt it got hold on one end of the Pillow,

and ſet it quite on end, and there it ſtood for ſome conſiderable time; at laſt falling down in its place, they fell faſt aſleep, and ſo continued all that Night.

The Staff that was ſpoken of before was *Jone Winſors*, and ſhe ſays, ſhe left it below in the Kitchin. She ſays, that vvhich troubled, did endeavour to kill the people, if it had power. She put them to it, to know the reaſon vvhy they vvere ſo troubled, and they ſaid they knew nothing, unleſs it was about the buſineſs of Old *Warren*. She vvas there Three Nights, and the trouble was much after the ſame manner, nothing that was more remarkable.

This is the truth of what I heard them ſpeak from their own Mouths, and they will atteſt it if called thereunto.

AD-

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*A very considerable Story this is, and sufficiently circumstantiated for time and place, saving that the County is not named. The reason whereof I conceive to be, that it was in the very County in which Mr.* Glanvil *lived, to whom the Information was sent, namely in* Somersetshire. *And there are* Burtons *more than one there, and also* Leighs, *but this* Burton *is determined by the space of something more than a Mile and an halfs distance from* Leigh. *So that the Topographical account is sufficiently exact. And the manner of the Narrative is so simple, plain and rural, that it prevents all suspicion of fraud or Imposture in the Relatour.*

*The transporting of things out of one Room into another, and striking and the like by invisible Agents, minds me of Mr.* Lloyd's *story, as 'tis called in Mr.* Glanvil's *Papers, whom in a Letter he tells he may rely upon it for truth, as being sent from a Person of Quality and Integrity in those parts. It is of an House haunted of one* Walter Meyrick *of the Parish of* Blethvaugh, *in the County of* Radnor, *some Two and Twenty Years ago. Where besides strange kind of Tunable Whistlings in the Rooms, where none was seen to Whistle, there were stones flung down out of a loft of great weight, the Doors bolted or barred against them on the inside, when returned from the Church, no body being within. And at Prayers at home when some of the Women out of fear held one another by the Arms, some Invisible Power would pluck asunder their Arms whether they would or no. By such an Invisible force, one as he was sitting at*

Supper

*Supper, was ſtruck flat to the ground, and a Trencher ſtruck out of the Maids Hand that waited, and a ſmart Box on the Ear given to another, no Viſible thing being near that did it. A Purſe loſt with Two Gold Rings, and Six and Four-pence in it, the party complaining thereof, the Purſe dropt down from the top of the Room, which had no Room over it, and Four-pence only in it. That Men were ſtruck down with Stones, and yet had no great hurt, ſhews plainly they were not flung but carried. But there was one beaten with Two Staves black and blue, but none to be ſeen that thus belaboured him, though in the Day.*

*We paſs by the* Frying-Pan, *beaten with a little piece of Iron, and tinkling over a Mans Head in the Night, to his being ſtruck down with a Stick by Day, while he tended the Gooſe roaſting, which that Inviſible Striker ſeemed to have a Plot upon, as alſo by his knocking a*

*Pick-Axe against the Lid of a Coffer, to have a Design upon a Bag of Money. These and the like Feats, that Narrative relates, which Mr.* Glanvil *calls Mr.* Lloyd's *Story, who assures him he may rely on the Truth thereof, he procuring it from a Justice of Peace, who took the parties Testimonies that dwelt in the House, or upon occasions were present there, and were Eye-Witnesses of the strange Pranks that were plaid in the place. And there being that Congeneracy betwixt* James Sherrings *Story and this, they mutually corroborate one another.*

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RELAT.

## RELAT. XXIV.

*Mr.* Andrew Paſchall *once fellow of Queens Colledge in* Cambridge, *his Narrative of three Nights diſturbance at his Fathers houſe in* London *in* Soper-Lane, *in* Auguſt 1661.

THE firſt Nights diſturbance; There was in Family my Father and Mother, my Eldeſt Brother, and one of my Siſters with a young Maiden Gentlewoman her Bedfellow (who ſeemed to be principally concerned) beſides a Maid that lay in the ſame Chamber.

The Gentlewoman before mentioned, being in bed with my Siſter in a Chamber within that where my Father and Mother lay, (the Maid lying in another bed alone by) there ſeemed to her then lying

lying awake, to be one walking in the Chamber, by a noiſe made as of a long Gown or ſome Trailing Garment bruſhing and ſweeping up and down the Room.

By and by, there vvas a Noiſe of Clattering their Shoes under the Bed, with a ſcratching and tugging of the Mat under the bed likewiſe. This continued for ſome time, my Siſter being awakened heard it, ſo did the Maid. After this my Mother being called out of the next Chamber where ſhe was up (to prepare a Chymical water which required their being up all Night) came in, they being in a great fright. My Brother went up alſo, who not gone to bed ſate below. A Candle was brought, and the noiſe ceaſed while they were in the Chamber. Preſently after they were gone out again, and the light removed, the Chamber door (which ſhuts with difficulty) flew to with a great bounce, it being wide open before, it ſhook the Room where my Mother was buſied about the aforeſaid preparation. After this one of the ſhoos that was by the bed ſide was flung over the bed with a mighty force againſt a Preſs that ſtood

on

on the other ſide. This put them to ſuch a fright again that the Gentlewoman riſe. My Brother went into the Room again and ſate up with them all Night.

This I received from my Brother, who came to Bed to me, (who by reaſon of ſome ilneſs had gone to bed firſt in the Family) early the next Morning. I was confirmed in it afterward by my Mother, upon whoſe bare aſſertion I dare confidently believe any thing that ſhall be related.

The ſecond Nights diſturbance; The next Evening as we ſate at Supper, we all heard a great noiſe above in the Chamber, at the end of the houſe, as it were flinging of Chairs and Stools about the Room or removing of great Trunks. And going up to ſee, all was ſtill till we came down again: However the Gentlewoman reſolved to go to bed again that Night in the ſame Chamber. My Siſter went to bed with her, and the reſt to their Lodgings, onely my Brother and I reſolved to ſit up ſome time and expect the event. Within a while after we heard them knock earneſtly above,

we

we went both up, they told us there had been the ſame diſturbance as the Night before and ſomething more. For beſides the tugging of the Mat under the bed, the Bedclothes upon them were often tugged and pulled, inſomuch as they were fain to hold them hard with their hands to keep them from being pulled off. All was quiet for a little time while we were in the Chamber with a light, but we were no ſooner out of the Chamber with the Candle, but the noiſe under the bed, tugging of the Mat, pulling of the Bedclothes began again. Moreover ſomething came into the bed, which the Gentlewoman ſaid ran up on her by degrees, and ſeemed little and ſoft like a Mole. Upon this ſhe skreekt out, and we came in again with the Candle, then all was ſtill again.

We retired often with the Candle, and preſently the ſame Diſturbance returned, together with a low whiſpering Noiſe in many places about the Bed, but chiefly towards the beds head, which we all heard ſtaying in the Chamber, and removing the Candle into the next Room. My Father and Mother riſe, and there were none of us but heard all

or

or moſt part of this, but nothing appeared to us. The thing was continually moving and ſtirring in ſome part or other of the bed, and moſt commonly at the feet, where it uſually came up firſt. At laſt it came to that boldneſs that it would make the ſame diſturbance while the Candle was in the Chamber, if but a little ſhaded behind the door, ſo that we could ſometimes ſee the Clothes pull'd and tugg'd; and we frequently ſaw it heave and lift up the Clothes upon the bed towards the feet, in a little hill or riſing, which both my Brother and I often clapt our hands upon, perceiving it to move, and withall to make a little clacking noiſe, which cannot any more than the former whiſpering be expreſt in Writing. We could not perceive any thing more than the Clothes, as often as we ſaw them ſo moved and heaved up. The ſhoos were laid up upon the beds Teſter, the ſecond Night, to prevent the clattering which was made with them the Night before, and whilſt we were ſtanding talking in the Chamber, as I was ſome diſtance from the bed, one of the ſhoos flew off and hit me lightly on the head, my Hat being on. And another came preſently tumbling down after

it

it none ſtirring the bed. Afterwards the aforeſaid little thing came upon the Gentlewoman ſo frequently, that if we were but the leaſt removed, ſhe could not lie quiet in her bed. Then ſhe ſate up in her bed with a Mantle about her, which when we were retired was pulled at as if it would have been plucked from her. Whereupon ſhe cried out again, and I came into the Chamber again, and was deſired to hold faſt upon the Mantle about her, which notwithſtanding upon removal of the Candle was tugged hard again, which I very ſenſibly perceived. Whereupon we perceiving no Ceſſation, my Brother and I continued in the Chamber all that Night till break of day, vvith a Candle in the Room. The tugging of the Matt under the Bed, the heaving of the Clothes about the Feet, and the other vvhiſpering noiſe continuing by fits, till Light appeared. There vvas ſcarcely any of us, eſpecially ſhe her ſelf, that did not Conjure that Whiſperer by the moſt Sacred Names to ſpeak out and tell us its intent, but nothing was to be ſeen, nor any anſwer made.

The third Nights diſturbance; The Gentle-

Gentlewoman reſolved now to change her Chamber, to try if the diſturbance would follow, ſhe did ſo, my Siſter ſtill accompanying of her. My Brother and I ſate up as before below expecting again what would follow. The ſame noiſe was heard this third Night as the Night before above in the Chamber. We had not ſate long below before we were Summoned up with loud knockings again, they were in the ſame caſe as before, if not worſe. A while after they were in bed in this other Chamber there was a clattering heard at the door; preſently after the ſame noiſe under the bed, the ſame heaving of the Clothes, and the ſame whiſpering as before. But towards Midnight that thing which came into the bed before, came now ſo often with ſuch ungrateful skippings up and down upon her, that ſhe often skreekt and cried out. It ſeemed cold and very ſmooth as ſhe related, and would commonly come in at her feet, and run all up on her by her ſide to her ſhoulder. Once ſhe deſired me to clap my hand upon her back near her ſhoulder blade, as feeling it juſt then come up thither. I did ſo on a ſuddain, and there ſeemed a cold blaſt or puff of Wind to blow upon my hand juſt as I

clapt

clapt it on her. And one thing more remarkable was this, when the whiſpering was heard at her Beds-head, after we had many times in vain conjured it to ſpeak and tell us the intent of its whiſperings and diſturbance, I ſpake to it very earneſtly to ſpeak out or whiſper louder. Hereupon it hiſſed out much louder than before, but nothing intelligible to be heard. At laſt this diſturbance with the thing in the bed being no longer tolerable to the Gentlewoman, my Mother riſe (lying in the next Chamber and hearing their perplexity) came into her Chamber and prayed ſometime at her Bedſide juſt by her. Whereupon it pleaſed God within a very ſhort time after to remove all thoſe noiſes and that which diſturbed her. After that Night I cannot tell certainly that there hath been any thing of that nature heard in the houſe.

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A D-

# *ADVERTISEMENT.*

THis Narrative though it was not among Mr. *Glanvil*'s Papers, but I found it by chance in mine own Study, yet it being made by an Eye-witneſs whom I knew to be one of Judgement and Integrity, I thought fit to inſert it. And the rather, becauſe of that paſſage, that when he clapt his Hand upon the Shoulder of the Gentlewoman where the Ghoſt was, a cool blaſt or puff of Air ſeemed to bear or blow againſt his Hand. Which is like Mr. *Glanvil*'s Experiment of preſſing the Linnen Bag in which ſome Spirit was moving as a living Animal. Which are notable inſtances of their eaſie percribration through porous Bodies. This troubleſome Spirit I ſuſpect to have been the Ghoſt of ſome party deceaſed who would have uttered ſomething, but had not the knack of ſpeaking ſo articulately as to be underſtood. And when they can ſpeak intelligibly, it is ordinarily in a hoarſe and low Voice, as is obſervable in many ſtories, and particularly in a very freſh ſtory of the Ghoſt of one deceaſed that ſpoke to *Jacob Brent* ſome two years ago, an Apprentice then to one Mr. *Lawrence* in the *Little Minories*; of which to give ſome brief account, I think fitting for the very ſame reaſons that I have inſerted this of Mr. *Paſchal*, namely, that it is from an Eye-

witneſs, and a diſcreet and well-diſpoſed young man, as they that know him do teſtifie: and I will ſet down no more, nor ſo much as he himſelf declared or acknowledged, not onely to Dr. *Cudworth*, Mr. *Fowler*, and Mr. *Glanvil*, but very lately to my ſelf alſo, *viz.*

That he had conference with the Ghoſt of ſome deceaſed party for about a quarter of an hour: That he had a glimpſe of the ſhape thereof, being called into the Room where it was, by a Voice, ſaying, *Here*, *Here*; but that he preſently cried out, *Good God, let me ſee nothing*, he being ſo affrighted with the ſight. But however, he entertained diſcourſe with it for about the time above-mentioned, received ſeveral things in charge from it to be done, and was commanded ſecrecy in ſome ſpecial Matters; but it gave ſuch inſtructions, and made ſuch diſcoveries, as right might be done to ſome that had been wronged by the party deceaſed. Upon which performance of *Jacob Brent*, the diſturbance of the houſe ceaſed: But for about ſix Weeks before, Mr. *Lawrence* his houſe was miſerably diſturbed, they being moſt nights affrighted with Thumpings and loud Knockings at the Chamber-doors, ſometimes with a ſtrange whirling noiſe up and down the Rooms, and clapping upon the Stairs. And that night *Jacob Brent* ſate up in the Kitchin expecting ſome conference with the Spirit for the quiet of the Houſe, he heard

the Door of the Room above him that was faſt lockt, fly open, while he was reading in *Euſebius*, and immediately a ſwift running down the Stairs, and a great knock at the Kitchin-door which ſtood a jarr, and a chinking of Money on the Stairs, as he paſſed from the Kitchin towards the Dining-room over againſt it, whoſe Door was lockt when they went to bed, but now opened as the Door of the other Room above the Kitchin.

Into this Dining-room he was invited, as is aboveſaid, by a Voice ſaying, *Here, Here*; and there he received, and after executed, ſuch directions as gave quiet afterwards to the Houſe; and he received thanks from the Ghoſt after he had made his Journey abroad to fulfil its deſire, at his returning home, with a promiſe it would never trouble the houſe more. And of the troubles of the houſe before, the whole Family were Witneſſes, as alſo of the Conference of *J. B.* and the Spirit, that they heard two ſpeaking in the Dining-room, though they were not ſo near as to underſtand what they ſaid; onely they heard *J. B.* pray to God that he might ſee nothing.

That the houſe was really Haunted, beſides what has been ſaid already, is further confirmed by Mr. *Bamfield*, who was deſired to lie in the houſe ſome days before this Conference of *J. B.* with the Spirit; who though he heard no noiſes, yet felt his Clothes tuckt

about him, and his Hand kindly ſtroaked, he being awake all night. And that this could be no trick of *J. B.* is further evident from that great emotion of mind he was in after this for ſome two hours, even almoſt to diſtraction, and was fain afterwards to be let Bloud. But for his conſtant temper, he is obſerved to be, and I take him to be ſuch, of a ſober honeſt and ſenſible Genius; nor is he any Sectarian, but an orderly Son of the Church of *England.*

And if the Injunctions of the Ghoſt he converſed with, and common rules of Prudence, did not forbid the declaring of ſome particulars, this is an experiment that might convince the moſt incredulous touching ſuch things. But Mr. *Glanvil* complains in a Letter of his to Dr. *H. More*, that this ſhyneſs and tender reſpect of perſons has hindered him of many a conſiderable ſtory; as I have alſo taken notice long ſince how mutilate the ſtory of the Shoemaker of *Breſlaw* is made, by reaſon of *Martinus Weinrichius* his concealing the Shoemaker's Name. But the mentioning of lockt Doors flying open of their own accord, reminds me of Mr. *Alcock*'s ſtory of a Cheſt with three Locks unlocking itſelf, and flying wide open, and then locking itſelf again. Which is as follows.

## RELAT. XXV.

### *The Story of Mr.* John Bourne *of* Durley *in* Ireland, *about a mile from* Bridgwater, *Counſellor at Law.*

MR. *John Bourne*, for his skill, care, and honeſty, was made by his Neighbour *John Mallet* Eſq; of *Enmore*, the chief of his Truſtees for his Son *John Mallet*, (Father to *Elizabeth* now Counteſs Dowager of *Rocheſter*) and the reſt of his Children in minority. He had the reputation of a worthy good man, and was commonly taken notice of for an habitual ſaying by way of Interjection almoſt to any thing, *viz. You ſay true, You ſay true, You are in the right.* This Mr. *Bourne* fell ſick at his houſe at *Durley* in the year 1654, and Dr. *Raymond* of *Oake* was ſent for to him, who after ſome time gave the ſaid Mr. *Bourne* over. And he had not now ſpake in Twenty four hours, when the ſaid Dr. *Raymond* and Mrs. *Carliſle* (Mr. *Bourne*'s Nephews Wife, whoſe Husband he made one of his Heirs) ſitting by his Bedſide, the Doctor opened the Curtains at the Beds-feet, to give him air; when on a ſuddain, to the horrour and amazement of Dr. *Raymond* and Mrs. *Carliſle*, the great Iron Cheſt by the Window at his Beds feet with three Locks to it (in which

were all the Writings and Evidences of the ſaid Mr. *Mallet*'s Eſtate ) began to open, firſt one Lock, then another, then the third. Afterwards the Lid of the ſaid iron Cheſt lifted up itſelf, and ſtood wide open. Then the Patient Mr. *Bourne*, who had not ſpoke in Twenty four hours, lifted himſelf up alſo, and looking upon the Cheſt, cryed, *You ſay true, You ſay true, You are in the right, I'le be with you by and by.* So the Patient lay down and ſpake no more. Then the Cheſt fell again of itſelf, and lockt itſelf one Lock after another, as the three Locks opened; and they tried to knock it open and could not, and Mr. *Bourne* died within an hour after.

## *ADVERTISEMENT.*

THis Narrative was ſent in a Letter to *J. C.* for Dr. *H. More*, from Mr. *Thomas Alcock* of *Shear Hampton*; of which in a Letter to the ſaid Doctor he gives this account. I am, ſaith he, very confident of the truth of the ſtory: For I had it from a very good Lady; the eldeſt Daughter of the ſaid *John Mallet* ( whoſe Truſtee Mr. *Bourne* was ) and onely Aunt to the Counteſs of *Rocheſter*, who knew all the parties; and have heard Dr. *Raymond* and Mr. *Carliſle* relate it often with amazement being both perſons of credit.

The curious may be inquiſitive what the mea-

meaning of the opening of the Cheſt may be, and of Mr. *Bourne* his ſay, *You ſay true*, &c. *I'le be with you by and by.* As for the former, it is noted by *Paracelſus* eſpecially, and by others, that there are ſigns often given of the departure of ſick men lying on their Deathbeds, of which this opening of the *Iron* Coffer or Cheſt and cloſing again, is more than ordinary ſignificant, eſpecially if we conſider the nearneſs of ſound and ſence betwixt *Coffer* and *Coffin*, and recal to mind that of *Virgil*;

*Olli dura quies oculos* & ferreus *urget*
*Somnus*——

though this quaintneſs is more than is requiſite in theſe Prodigies preſaging the Sick man's death. As for the latter, it ſeems to be nothing elſe but the ſaying *Amen* to the preſage, uttered in his accuſtomary form of ſpeech: As if he ſhould ſay, You of the inviſible Kingdom of Spirits have given the token of my ſuddain departure: And *you ſay true*, I ſhall be with you by and by. Which he was enabled ſo aſſuredly to aſſent to, upon the advantage of the relaxation of his Soul now departing from the Body. Which *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 18. notes to be the opinion of *Pythagoras* and his followers, That it is the priviledge of the Soul near her departure to exerciſe a fatidical faculty, and to pronounce truely

touching things future, Προγιγνώσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς τὰ μέλλοντα καθ' ὃν ἂν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος χωρισμὸν ποιῶνται, *That humane Souls prognoſtick things to come at what time they are ſeparating from their Body.*

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## RELAT. XXVI.

*The Apparition of* James Haddock *to* Francis Taverner *near* Drum-bridge *in* Ireland, *comprized in a Letter of* Thomas Alcock *to Dr.* H. More.

AT *Michaelmas* 1662. *Francis Taverner*, about Twenty five years old, a luſty, proper, ſtout fellow, then ſervant at large (afterwards Porter) to the Lord *Chicheſter* Earl of *Donegal*, at *Belfaſt* in the North of *Ireland*, County of *Antrim*, and Dioceſs of *Connor*, riding late in the Night from *Hilbrough* homeward, near *Drum-bridge*, his Horſe, though of good metal, ſuddainly made a ſtand; and he ſuppoſing him to be taken with the Staggers, alighted to bloud him in the mouth, and preſently mounted again. As he was ſetting forward, there ſeemed to paſs by him two Horſemen, though he could not hear the treading of their feet, which amazed him. Preſently there appeared a third in a white Coat,

juſt

juſt at his Elbow in the likeneſs of *James Haddock* formerly an Inhabitant in *Malone*, where he died near five years before. Whereupon *Taverner* askt him in the Name of God who he was? He replied, *I am* James Haddock, *and you may call to mind by this token; That about five years ago I and two other Friends were at your Fathers Houſe, and you by your Fathers appointment brought us ſome Nuts, and therefore be not afraid*, ſays the Apparition. Whereupon *Taverner*, remembring the circumſtances, thought it might be *Haddock*; and thoſe two who paſſed by before him, he thought to be his two Friends with him when he gave them Nuts, and courageouſly askt him why he appeared to him rather than any other. He anſwered, Becauſe he was a man of more reſolution than others; and if he would ride his way with him, he would acquaint him with a buſineſs he had to deliver him. Which *Taverner* refuſed to do, and would go his own way, (for they were now at a Quadrivial) and ſo rode on homewards. But immediately on the departure there aroſe a great wind, and withal he heard very hideous ſcreeches and noiſes, to his great amazement; but riding forward as faſt as he could, he at laſt heard the Cocks crow, to his comfort; he alighted off from his Horſe, and falling to prayer, deſired God's aſſiſtance, and ſo got ſafe home.

The night after there appeared again to him

him the likeneſs of *James Haddock*, and bid him go to *Elenor Welſh*, (now the Wife of *Davis* living at *Malone*, but formerly the Wife of the ſaid *James Haddock*, by whom ſhe had an onely Son, to whom the ſaid *James Haddock* had by his Will given a Leaſe which he held of the *Lord Chicheſter*, of which the Son was deprived by *Davis* who had married his Mother) and to ask her if her Maiden-name was not *Elenor Welſh*; and if it were, to tell her, that it was the Will of her former Huſband *James Haddock* that their Son ſhould be righted in the Leaſe. But *Taverner*, partly loath to gain the ill will of his Neighbours, and partly thinking he ſhould not be credited but lookt on as deluded, long neglected to do his Meſſage, till having been every night for about a Months ſpace haunted with this Apparition in ſeveral forms every night more and more terrible, (which was uſually preceded by an unuſual trembling over his whole Body, and great change of countenance manifeſt to his Wife, in whoſe preſence frequently the Apparition was, though not viſible to her) at length he went to *Malone* to *Davis*'s Wife and askt whether her Maiden-name was not *Elenor Welſh*; if it was, he had ſomething to ſay to her. She replied, There was another *Elenor Welſh* beſides her. Hereupon *Taverner* returned without delivering his Meſſage. The ſame night being faſt aſleep in his Bed, (for

the

the former Apparitions were as he ſate by the Fire with his Wife) by ſomething preſſing upon him, he was awakened, and ſaw again the Apparition of *James Haddock* in a white Coat as at other times, who asked him if he had delivered his Meſſage? He anſwered, he had been there with *Elenor Welſh*. Upon which the Apparition looking more pleaſantly upon him, bid him not be afraid; and ſo vaniſhed in a flaſh of brightneſs.

But ſome nights after (he having not delivered his Meſſage) he came again, and appearing in many formidable ſhapes, threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it. This made him leave his houſe where he dwelt in the Mountains, and betake himſelf to the Town of *Belfaſt*, where he ſate up all night at one *Pierce*'s houſe a Shoemaker, accompanied with the ſaid *Pierce* and a Servant or two of the Lord *Chicheſter*, who were deſirous to ſee or hear the Spirit. About midnight as they were all by the Fire-ſide they beheld *Taverner*'s Countenance to change, and a trembling to fall on him; who preſently eſpied the Apparition in a Room oppoſite to him where he ſate, and took up the Candle and went to it, and reſolutely askt it in the Name of God wherefore it haunted him? It replied, becauſe he had not delivered the Meſſage, and withal threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it ſpeedily; and ſo, changing itſelf into many

ny prodigious ſhapes, it vaniſht in white like a Ghoſt. Whereupon *Francis Taverner* became much dejected and troubled, and next day went to the Lord *Chicheſter*'s houſe, and with tears in his Eyes, related to ſome of the Family the ſadneſs of his condition. They told it to my Lord's Chaplain Mr. *James South*, who came preſently to *Taverner*, and being acquainted of his whole Story, adviſed him to go this preſent time to *Malone* to deliver punctually his Meſſage, and promiſed to go along with him. But firſt they went to Dr. *Lewis Downs* then Miniſter of *Belfaſt*, who upon hearing the Relation of the whole matter, doubted at firſt of the truth of it, attributing it rather to Melancholy than any thing of reality. But being afterwards fully ſatisfied of it, the onely ſcruple remaining was, Whether it might be lawful to go on ſuch a buſineſs, not knowing whoſe errand it was; Since, though it was a real Apparition of ſome Spirit, yet it was queſtionable whether of a good or a bad Spirit. Yet the juſtice of the Cauſe, (it being the common report the Youth was wronged) and other conſiderations prevailing, he went with them. So they three went to *Davis*'s houſe, where the Woman being deſired to come to them, *Taverner* did effectually do his Meſſage, by telling her, that he could not be at quiet for the Ghoſt of her former Husband *James Haddock*, who threat-

ned

ned to tear him in pieces if he did not tell her ſhe muſt right *John Haddock* her Son by him, in a Leaſe wherein ſhe and *Davis* her now Husband had wronged him. This done, he preſently found great quietneſs in his mind; and, thanking the Gentlemen for their Company, Advice, and Aſſiſtance, he departed thence to his Brother's Houſe at *Drum-bridge*: Where, about two nights after, the aforeſaid Apparition came to him again, and more pleaſantly than formerly, askt if he had delivered his Meſſage? He anſwered, he had done it fully. It replied, that he muſt do the ſame Meſſage to the Executors alſo, that the buſineſs might be perfected. At this meeting *Taverner* asked the Spirit if *Davis* would do him any hurt; to which it anſwered at firſt ſomewhat doubtfully; but at length threatned *Davis* if he attempted any thing to the injury of *Taverner*, and ſo vaniſht away in white.

The day following, Dr. *Jeremie Taylor* Biſhop of *Down*, *Connor*, and *Dromore*, was to go to keep Court at *Dromore*, and commanded me, who was then Secretary to him, to write for *Taverner* to meet him there, which he did. And there in the preſence of many people he examined *Taverner* ſtrictly of this ſtrange Scene of Providence, as my Lord ſtyl'd it; and by the account given him both by *Taverner*, and others who knew *Taverner* and much of the

former

former particulars, his Lordſhip was ſatisfied that the Apparition was true and real; but ſaid no more there to him, becauſe at *Hilbrough* three miles from thence on his way home my Lord was informed that my Lady *Conway* and other perſons of Quality were come purpoſely to hear his Lordſhip examine the Matter. So *Tarverner* went with us to *Hilbrough* and there, to ſatisfie the curioſity of the freſh company, after asking many things anew, and ſome over again, my Lord adviſed him the next time the Spirit appeared to ask him the Queſtions. Whence are you? Are you a good or a bad Spirit? Where is your abode? What ſtation do you hold? How are you regimented in the other World? And what is the reaſon that you appear for the relief of your Son in ſo ſmall a matter, when ſo many Widows and Orphans are oppreſſed in the World, being defrauded of greater matters, and none from thence of their Relations appear, as you do, to right them?

That night *Taverner* was ſent for to *Lisburne* to my Lord *Conway*'s three miles from *Hilbrough* on his way home to *Belfaſt*, where he was again ſtrictly examined in the preſence of many good men and women of the aforeſaid matter, was ordered to lie at my Lord *Conway*'s all night; and about Nine or Ten a clock at night, ſtanding by the Fire-ſide with his Brother and many others, his Countenance

change

changed, and he fell into a trembling, the uſu-
al prognoſtick of the Apparition; and, being
loath to make any diſturbance in his Lord-
ſhips houſe, he and his Brother went out into
the Court, where he ſaw the Spirit coming
over the Wall; which, approaching nearer,
askt him if he had done his Meſſage to the
Executor alſo? He replied, he had, and won-
dered it ſhould ſtill haunt him. It replied,
he need not fear, for it would do him no hurt,
nor trouble him any more, but the Execu-
tor if he did not ſee the Boy righted. Here
his Brother put him in mind to ask the Spirit
what the Biſhop bid him, which he did preſent-
ly. But it gave him no anſwer, but crawled
on its Hands and Feet over the Wall again, and
there vaniſht in white, with a moſt melodious
Harmony.

Note, (1) That *Pierce*, at whoſe houſe, and
in whoſe preſence the Apparition was, being
askt whether he ſaw the Spirit, ſaid, he did
not, but thought at that time he had a Miſt
all over his eyes. (2) What was then ſpoke
by *Taverner* was in ſo low and hollow a voice,
that they could not underſtand what it ſaid.
(3) At *Pierce*'s houſe it ſtood juſt in the entry
at a Door; and as a Maid paſſed by to go in
the Door, *Taverner* ſaw it go aſide and give
way to the Maid, though ſhe ſaw it not.
(4) That the Leaſe was hereupon diſpoſed on
to the Boys uſe. (5) The Spirit at the laſt

ap-

apparition at my Lord *Conway*'s houſe, revea-
led ſomewhat to *Taverner*, which he would
not diſcover to any of us that askt him.

This *Taverner*, with all the Perſons and Pla-
ces mentioned in the Story, I knew very well
and all wiſe and good men did believe it, eſpe-
cially the Biſhop, and Dean of *Connor* Dr. *Ruſt*.
Witneſs

Your humble Servant

*Thomas Alcock*

## *ADVERTISEMENT.*

IT will not be amiſs to ſet down here wha
Mr. *Alcock* addes by way of *Poſtſcript* i
his Letter. *There is an odd ſtory*, ſaith he, *de-
pending on this, which I cannot chuſe but tell yo
The Boys Friends put the Truſtees and Execut
on this Apparitions account into our Courts, whe
it was pleaſant to hear my Lord talk to them
the whole matter. The Uncle and Truſtee, o*
John Coſtlet, *forſwore the thing, railed on T*
verner, *and made ſtrange imprecations, and wiſ
Judgments might fall on him if he knew of a
ſuch Leaſe; but the fear of the Apparitions m
naces by* Taverner *ſcar'd him into a* promiſe
*juſtice at leaſt. About four or five years afte
when my Lord died, and the noiſe of the App
rition was over,* Coſtlet *began again to threat
the Boy with Law, &c. But being drunk at Hi*
ha

hall *by* Lisburne, *coming home he fell from his Horse, and never spake more. This is a sad truth to my knowledge.*

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## RELAT. XXVII.

*The Story of* David Hunter *Neat-herd to the Bishop of* Down *and* Connor, *at* Portmore *in* Ireland, 1663. *from the same hand.*

*David Hunter* Neat-herd at the Bishop's house at *Portmore*, there appeared to him one night, carrying a Log of Wood into the Dairie, an Old Woman, which amazed him, for he knew her not: but the fright made him throw away his Log of Wood and run into the house. The next night she appeared again to him, and he could not chuse but follow her all night; and so almost every night for near three quarters of a Year. Whenever he came, he must go with her through the Woods at a good round rate; and the poor fellow lookt as if he was bewitcht and travelled off his legs. And when in bed with his Wife, if she appeared, he must rise and go. And because his Wife could not hold him in his bed, she would go too, and walk after him all day, though she see nothing: But his little Dog was so well acquainted with the Apparition, that he would follow her as well as his

Maſter. If a Tree ſtood in her walk, he obſerved her always to go through it. In all this while ſhe ſpake not.

But one day the ſaid *David* going over a Hedge into the High-way, ſhe came juſt againſt him, and he cried out, *Lord bleſs me, would I was dead; ſhall I never be delivered from this miſery?* At which, *And the Lord bleſs me too*, ſays ſhe: *It was very happy you ſpake firſt, for till then I had no power to ſpeak though I have followed you ſo long. My Name* ſays ſhe, *is Margaret —— I lived here before the War, and had one Son by my Husband. When he died I married a Souldier, by whom I had ſeveral Children, which that former Son maintained elſe we muſt have all ſtarved. He lives beyond the* Baun-water; *pray go to him and bid him dig under ſuch a Harth, and there he ſhall find 28 s. Let him pay what I owe in ſuch a place, and the reſt to the charge unpayed at my Funeral; and go to my Son that lives here, which I had by my latter Husband, and tell him that he lives a wicked and a diſſolute life, and is very unnatural and ungrateful to his Brother that maintained him; and if he does not mend his life, God Almighty will deſtroy him.*

*David Hunter* told her he never knew her. *No*, ſays ſhe, *I died Seven years before you came into the Countrey:* But for all that, if he would do her Meſſage, ſhe would never hurt him. But he deferred doing as the Apparition bid him

him, and ſhe appeared the night after as he lay in bed, and ſtruck him on the ſhoulder very hard; at which he cried out, and askt her if ſhe did not promiſe ſhe would not hurt him? She ſaid, that was if he did her Meſſage; if not, ſhe would kill him. He told her he could not go now by reaſon the Waters were out. She ſaid ſhe was content he ſhould ſtay till they were abated; but charged him afterwards not to fail her. So he did her errand, and afterwards ſhe appeared and gave him thanks. *For now*, ſaid ſhe, *I ſhall be at reſt, therefore pray you lift me up from the ground, and I will trouble you no more.* So *David Hunter* lifted her up from the ground, and, as he ſaid, ſhe felt juſt like a bag of Feathers in his arms. So ſhe vaniſht, and he heard moſt delicate Muſick as ſhe went off, over his head; and he never was more troubled.

This account the poor fellow gave us every day as the Apparition ſpake to him, and my Lady *Conway* came to *Portmore*, where ſhe askt the fellow the ſame queſtions and many more. This I know to be true, being all the while with my Lord of *Down*, and the fellow a poor Neatherd there.

*Thomas Alcock.*

## *ADVERTISEMENT.*

IT is no ſmall confirmation to my ſelf of the truth of theſe two laſt Stories, in both which my Lady *Conway* is mentioned, in that I received two Letters from that incomparable Lady out of *Ireland* touching them both. The former is dated, *Lisburne*, March 3. 1662. wherein ſhe writes thus: *I have ſpoken lately with two ſimple Country-people who have been much perplexed with two ſeveral perſons who have died lately. The ſtories are too long to relate; but the circumſtances are ſuch, as I know not how to misbelieve the ſtories. The perſons cannot be ſuſpected to have any deſign, and were altogether unacquainted in the Families of them that appeared, and wholly ignorant of thoſe things in them that they now relate, and have charge to ſollicite the amendment of ſome miſcarriages by ſome perſons intruſted, which they could never hear of, as is ſuppoſed, by any other means. There are many other probabilities, but all evaded by ſeveral perſons here.* And to give you a taſte of their goodly Evaſions, I will tranſcribe a paſſage out of the other Letter of the ſaid excellent Lady, dated, *Lisburne*, April 29. 1663. wherein ſhe writes thus: *The Relation I ſent you of two in this Country is certainly liable to as little exception* (there was mention of the Drummer of *Tedworth* before) *as any one ſhall meet*

*meet with; As may appear by the diligent ſearch ſome have made for a flaw and Objection againſt the parties, who, after all, they confeſs, muſt needs appear perfectly unintereſſed, and impoſſible to have had from any concerned what they have delivered. But they believe that either Drunkenneſs or deſperate Melancholy did by chance enable them to light upon greater truths than themſelves thought of.* Thus far that excellent perſon. And it was enough for this noble Lady onely to recite their ſolution of the Phænomenon into *Melancholy* and *Drunkenneſs*, it being ſo trifling and ſilly, that it wanted no further refutation than the mere recital.

That Drink may diſcover the *ſecrets* of him that is *drunk*, as the Poet obſerves, is reaſonable enough: but that a man by being *drunk* is better capacitated to underſtand the *ſecrets* of another man, or of his Family, is ſo wilde a Paradox, that no *ſober* man can admit it. And what is *Melancholy* but a *natural Drunkenneſs* when it ferments? And moreover, it being but by chance that *Melancholy* or *Drunkenneſs* enables them to light upon ſuch things, why may not *Sanguine* and *Sobriety* chance as well to do the ſame, and not rather better, if there be any betterneſs in things by chance? But if there be any advantage in *fermenting Melancholy* or *ſtrong Drink*, it is becauſe the Soul is more excited, and made more ready to diſcover its own more inward furniture, as

men in drink reveal their own Secrets. But the Soul has no innate Idea's of *particular* things, and therefore the greateſt efferveſcency of Drink or Melancholy will not a jot better diſpoſe her to the knowledge of *Particulars*, but indiſpoſe her for the reception of them from without. So blindly do theſe Witlings Philoſophize touching things of this nature.

And yet, I dare ſay, this was the very beſt of their Evaſions: Which being no better againſt theſe two Stories, and the Stories ſo ſifted and examined (to ſay nothing of others) by a perſon of ſo quick a Wit, impartial Judgment and Sagacity, as I know that excellent Lady to have been, I muſt confeſs, that to me it is a confirmation as ſtrong as I can deſire for the main ſtrokes of the Stories, of which I retain ſome memory, having heard a more particular account of them from her Ladyſhip preſently upon her return from *Ireland* ſome ſixteen years ago. Nor do doubt but Mr. *Alcock* has approved himſelf a faithful Reciter of them as to the main; nor can there any one rightly be deemed more fit and able, he being preſent at the Examination of *Taverner*, and dwelling at *Portmore* with the Biſhop of *Down*, whoſe Servant *Hunter* was.

RELAT

## RELAT. XXVIII.

*The Confessions of certain* Scotch *Witches, taken out of an authentick Copy of their Trial at the Assizes held at* Paisley *in* Scotland, *Feb.* 15. 1678. *touching the bewitching of Sir* George Maxwel.

THe Tenour of the Confessions taken before Justices: As first of *Annabil Stuart* of the age of Fourteen years, or thereby; who declared that she was brought in the presence of the Justices for the crime of Witchcraft; and declared, that on Harvest last, the Devil in the shape of a Black man came to her Mothers House, and required the Declarant to give her self up to him; and that the Devil promised her that she should not want any thing that was good. Declares, that she being enticed by her Mother *Jannet Mathie*, and *Bessie Weir*, who was Officer to their several meetings, she put her Hand to the crown of her Head, and the other to the sole of her Foot, and did give herself up to the Devil. Declares, that her Mother promised her a new Coat for doing of it. Declares, that her Spirits name was *Enippa*, and that the Devil took her by the Hand and nipped her Arm, which continued to be sore for half an hour. Declares,

that the Devil in the ſhape of a black man lay with her in the Bed under the Clothes, and that ſhe found him cold. Declares, that thereafter he placed her neareſt himſelf. And declares, ſhe was preſent in her Mothers houſe when the Effigies of Wax was made; and that it was made to repreſent Sir *George Maxwel*. Declares, that the black man, *Janet Mathie*, the Declarant's Mother (whoſe Spirit's name was *Landlady*;) *Beſſie Weir*, whoſe Spirit's name is *Sopha*; *Margaret Craige*, whoſe Spirits name is *Rigerum*; and *Margaret Jackſon*, whoſe Spirit's name is *Locas*, were all preſent at the making of the ſaid Effigies; and that they bound it on a Spit, and turned it before the Fire; and that it was turned by *Beſſie Weir*, ſaying, as they turned it, Sir *George Maxwel*, Sir *George Maxwel*; and that this was expreſſed by all of them, and by the Declarant. Declares, that this Picture was made in *October* laſt. And further declares, that upon the third day of *January* Inſtant, *Beſſie Weir* came to her Mother's houſe, and adverſed her to come to her Brother *John Stuart*'s upon the night following. And that accordingly ſhe came to the place, where ſhe found *Beſſie Weir*, *Margery Craige*, *Magaret Jackſon*, and her Brother *John Stuart*, and a man with black Clothes, a blue Band, and white Handcuffs with hogers, and that his Feet were cloven. And the Declarant ſate down by the

Fire-

Fire-ſide with them, when they made a Picture of Clay, in which they placed Pins in the Breſt and Sides: And declares, that they placed one in every Side, and one in the Breaſt. Declared, that the black man did put the Pins in the Picture of Wax; but is not ſure who put in the Pins in the Picture of Clay. Declares, that the Effigies produced are the Effigies ſhe ſaw made. Declares, that the black mans name is *Ejoall.* This Declaration was emitted before *James Dunlop* of *Huſil, William Gremlaye*, &c. *Jan.* 27. 1677. *Ita eſt.* Robertus Park *Notarius Publicus*, &c.

The ſecond Confeſſion is of *John Stuart*, who being interrogate anent this crime of Witchcraft, declared, That upon Wedneſday the third day of *January* Inſtant, *Beſſie Weir* in *Pollocton* came to the Declarant late at night, who being without doors near his own houſe, the ſaid *Beſſie Weir* did intimate to him, that there was a meeting to be at his houſe the next day: And that the Devil under the ſhape of a black man, *Margaret Jackſon, Margery Craige*, and the ſaid *Beſſie Weir*, were to be preſent. And that *Beſſie Weir* required the Declarant to be there, which he promiſed. And that the next night, after the Declarant had gone to bed, the black man came in and called the Declarant quietly by his name. Upon which he aroſe from his Bed, and put on his Clothes, and lighted a Candle. Declares, that *Margaret Jackſon*,

*Jackſon*, *Beſſie Weir*, and *Margery Craige* did enter in at a Window in the Gavil of the Declarant's houſe. And that the firſt thing that the black man required, was, that the Declarant ſhould renounce his Baptiſm, and deliver himſelf up wholly to him: Which the Declarant did, by putting one hand on the crown of his Head, and the other on the ſole of his Foot. And that he was tempted to it by the Devil's promiſing that he ſhould not want any pleaſure, and that he ſhould get his heart filled on all that ſhall do him wrong. Declares, that he gave him the name of *Jonas* for his Spirits name. Declares, that thereafter the Devil required every one of their conſents for the making of the Effigies of Clay for the taking away the life of Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock*, to revenge the taking of the Declarants Mother *Jannet Mathie*. Declares, that every one of the perſons above named gave their conſent to the making of the ſaid Effigies, and that they wrought the Clay, and that the black man did make the figure of the Head and Face and two Arms to the ſaid Effigies. Declares, that the Devil ſet three Pins in the ſame, one in each ſide, and one in the Breaſt: And that the Declarant did hold the Candle to them all the time the Picture was making. And that he obſerved one of the black man's Feet to be cloven: and that the black man's Apparel was black: and that he had a bluiſh

Band

Band and Handcuffs; and that he had Hogers on his Legs without Shoes: and that the black man's Voice was hough and gouſtie. And further declares, that after they had begun the forming of the Effigies, his Siſter *Annabil Stuart*, a Childe of thirteen or fourteen years of age, came knocking at the Door, and being let in by the Declarant, ſhe ſtaid with them a conſiderable time, but that ſhe went away before the reſt, he having opened the Door to her. Declares, that the reſt went out at the Window at which they entred. Declares, that the Effigies was placed by *Beſſie Weir* in his Bedſtraw. He further declares, he himſelf did envy againſt Sir *George Maxwel* for apprehending *Jannet Mathie* his Mother: And that *Beſſie Weir* had great malice againſt this Sir *George Maxwel*; and that her quarrel was, as the Declarant conceived, becauſe the ſaid Sir *George* had not entred her Husband to his Harveſt-ſervice; and alſo declares, that the ſaid Effigies was made upon the fourth day of *January* Inſtant, and that the Devil's name was *Ejoall*. Declares that his Spirits name was *Jonas*, and *Beſſie Weir*'s Spirits name, who was Officer, was *Sopha*; and that *Margaret Jackſon*'s Spirit's name was *Locas*; and that *Annabil Stuart*'s, the Declarant's Siſter's was *Enippa*; but does not remember what *Margery Craige*'s Spirit's name was. Declares, that he cannot write. This Confeſſion was emitted in the

pre-

presence of the Witnesses to the other Confession, and on the same day. *Ita est.* Robertus Park *Notarius Publicus*, &c.

The Confession of *Margaret Jackson* Relict of *Tho. Stuart* in *Shaws*, who being examined by the Justices anent her being guilty of Witchcraft, declares, That she was present at the making of the first Effigies and Picture that was made in *Jannet Mathie*'s house in *October*, and that the Devil in the shape of a black man, *Jannet Mathie*, *Bessie Weir*, *Margery Craige*, and *Annabil Stuart*, was present at the making of the said Effigies, and that it was made to represent Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock*, for the taking away his life. Declares, that fourty years ago, or thereabout, she was at *Pollock-shaw-croft*, with some few sticks on her back, and that the black man came to her, and that she did give up herself unto the black man from the top of her Head to the sole of her Foot; and that this was after the Declarants renouncing of her Baptism; and that the Spirit's name which he designed her was *Locas*. And that about the third or fourth of *January* Instant, or thereby, in the night-time when she awaked, she found a man to be in bed with her, whom she supposed to have been her Husband, though her Husband had been dead twenty years or thereby, and that the man immediately disappeared: and declares that this man who disappeared was the Devil.

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Declares, that upon Thurſday the fourth of *January* Inſtant, ſhe was preſent in the houſe of *John Stuart* at night when the Effigies of Clay was made, and that ſhe ſaw the black man there, ſometimes ſitting, ſometimes ſtanding with *John Stuart*; and that the black man's Clothes were black, and that he had white Handcuffs. And that *Beſſie Weir* in *Pollockton*, *Annabil Stuart* in *Shaws*, and *Margery Craige* were at the aforeſaid time and place of making the ſaid Effigies of Clay; and declares, that ſhe gave her conſent to the making of the ſame; and declares that the Devils name who compeired in the black man's ſhape was *Ejoall*. *Sic ſubſcribitur, Ita eſt.* Robertus Park *Notarius Publicus*, &c.

*Now follow the Depoſitions of certain perſons agreeing with the Confeſſions of the aboveſaid Witches.*

*Andr. Martin* Servitour to the Lord of *Pollock*, of the age of Thirty years or thereby, Depones, That he was preſent in the houſe of *Jannet Mathie* Pannal when the Picture of Wax produced was found in a little hole in the Wall at the back of the Fire. Depones, that Sir *George* his Sickneſs did fall upon him about the eighteenth of *October* or thereby. Depones, that the Picture of Wax was found on the * * of *December*, and that Sir *George* his Sickneſs

neſs did abate and relent about the time the Picture of wax was found and diſcovered in *Jannet Mathie*'s houſe. Depones, that the Pins were placed in the right and left ſides, and that Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock* his pains, as he underſtood by Sir *George*'s complaining of theſe pains, lay moſt in his right and left ſides. And depones, that Sir *George* his pains did abate and relent after the finding of the ſaid Picture of Wax and taking out of the Pins as is ſaid. And depones, that the Pannal *Jannet Mathie* has been by fame and bruite reputed a Witch theſe ſeveral years by paſt. And this is the truth as he ſhall anſwer to God. *Sic Subſcrib.* Andr. Martin.

*Laurence Pollock* Secretary to the Lord of *Pollock*, ſworn and purged of partial Counſel, depones as follows, That on the ** day of *December* he was in the Pannal *Jannet Mathie*'s houſe when the Picture was found; and that he did not ſee it before it was brought to the Pannal's door. Depones, that Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock*'s ſickneſs did ſeize upon him about the fourteenth of *October* or thereby, and he did continue in his Sickneſs or Diſtemper for ſix Weeks or thereby. Depones, that Sir *George* his Sickneſs did abate and relent after the finding of the ſaid Picture of Wax and taking out of the Pins that were in the Effigies. Depones, that by open bruit and common fame, *Jannet Mathie*, and *Beſſie Weir*,

and

and *Margery Craige*, are brandit to be Witches. Depones, that the truth is this as he ſhall anſwer it to God. *Sic Subſcrib.* Laurence Pollock.

*Lodovic Stuart* of *Auchunhead* being ſworn and purged of partial Counſel, depones, That Sir *George* his Sickneſs fell upon him the fourteenth or fifteenth of *October* or thereby. Depones, that he was not preſent at the finding of the Picture of Wax; but that he had ſeen Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock* after it was found; and having ſeen him in his Sickneſs oftentimes before, he did perceive that Sir *George* had ſenſibly recovered after the time that the ſaid Picture was ſaid to be found, which was upon the 11*th* or 12*th* of *December*. Depones, that *Jannet Mathie* and *Margery Craige* two of the Pannals are by report of the Country ſaid to be Witches. Depones, that he having come to *Pollock* he did ſee Sir *George Maxwel*, whoſe pains did recur, and that his pains and torments were greatly encreaſed in reſpect of what they were before the finding of the Picture of Wax. Depones, that upon the 8th of *January* when they left the ſaid Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock*, the Deponent *James Danlop* of *Houſil*, *Allan Douglace*, and ſeveral others, did go to the houſe of *John Stuart* Warlock in *Pollock-ſhaw*, and there he found a Picture of Clay in the ſaid *John Stuart*'s Bedſtraw. Depones, that there was three Pins in the ſaid Picture of

Clay,

Clay, and that there was one in each ſide, and one in the Breaſt. And depones, that being returned to Sir *George* his houſe, Sir *George* told the Deponent that he found great eaſe of his pains, and that it was before the Deponent *Houſil* and the reſt did reveal to him that they had found the ſaid Picture of Clay; and further depones, that to his own obſervation he did perceive that Sir *George* had ſenſibly recovered. Depones, that they took the ſaid *John Stuart* Pannal Priſoner with them at the finding of the ſaid Effigies. And depones, that this is truth as he ſhall anſwer it to God. *Sic Subſcrib.* Lodowick Stuart.

There follow more Depoſitions in the Copy, but theſe are the moſt for our purpoſe, and enough to diſcover that the Confeſſion of thoſe Witches are no Fables nor Dreams.

## *ADVERTISEMENT.*

THeſe Confeſſions and Depoſitions are tranſcribed out of the Copy in the ſame *Scottiſh* Dialect that I found them; and ſeveral words there are which I profeſs I underſtand not, as thoſe for example concerning the black mans Voice, that it was *hough* and *gouſtie*: But if the voice of this black man be like that of his who appeared to the Witches whom Mr. *Hunt* examined, they may ſignifie a *big* and *low* voice.

There

There is another *Scottiſh* Trial of Witches amongſt Mr. *Glanvil's* Papers, with the ſame general ſubſcription that this has, *viz.* *Robert Martin* Clerk to the Juſtice Court. But that is of too old a date, it being in the year 1590, to comply with the title of our Stories. But it being a true Copy of Record ſo Authentick, though not ſo freſh, it may haply not be amiſs briefly to name ſome Effects, Kinds, or Circumſtances of Witchcraft therein mentioned; ſuch eſpecially as have not occurred in the foregoing Stories; as the giving and taking away power from ſundry mens Genital-members, For which *Jannet Clark* was accuſed.

That which is obſervable in *John Fiene* is, that the Devil appeared to him not in *black*, but in *white* raiment; but propoſed as helliſh a Covenant to him as thoſe Fiends that appear in black. As alſo lying dead two or three hours, and his Spirit tane, (as the Phraſe in the Record is) his being carried or tranſported to many Mountains, and, as he thought, through the world, according to his own Depoſitions. His hearing the Devil preach in a Kirk in the Pulpit in the night by candle-light, the Candle burning blue. That in a Conventicle of Witches, whoſe names are ſpecified in the Record, he with the reſt at parting kiſſed the Devil's Breech; the Record ſpeaks more broadly. His skimming on the Sea in a Boat

with thoſe of his gang, and his foretelling the leak in the Queens Ship by the help of the Devil. His raiſing Winds with the reſt at the King's paſſage into *Denmark*, by caſting a Cat into the Sea, which the Devil delivered to them, and taught them to cry *Hola* when they caſt it in. His raiſing a Miſt at the King's return from *Denmark*, by getting Satan to caſt a thing like a Foot-ball (it appeared to *John* like a Wiſp) into the Sea, which made a vapour or reek to ariſe, whereby the King's Majeſty might be caſt upon the Coaſt of *England*. His hearing the Devil again preach in a Pulpit in black, who after pointed them to Graves, to open and diſmember the Corpſe therein; which done, incontinently they were tranſported without words. His opening Locks by Sorcery, as one by mere blowing into a womans hand while he ſate by the Fire. His raiſing four Candles on the Luggs of an Horſe, and another on the top of the Staff of his Rider in the night, that he made it as light as day; and how the man fell down dead at the entring within his houſe at his return home. His embarquing in a Boat with other Witches, and ſailing over Sea, and entring within a ſhip, and drinking good Wine and Ale there, and ſinking the Ship when they had done, with the perſons in it. His kiſſing Satan's Breech again after another Conventicle. His being ſwiftly carried above in

the

the chaſing of a Cat to catch her to caſt into the Sea, thereby to raiſe Winds, according to the preſcription of Satan. His pretending to tell any man how long he ſhould live if he told him but the day of his birth.

There are alſo ſeveral things in *Agnes Sympſon's* Witchcraft, ſuch as there ſcarce occur the like in the foregoing ſtories. As her skill in Diſeaſes. That the ſickneſs of *Will. Black* was an Elf-ſhot. Her heating alſo of them by Sorcery, and foretelling the party whether he ſhould live or die, and others how long they ſhould live. Her taking the ſick parties pains and ſickneſs upon herſelf for a time, and then tranſlating it to a third perſon. Her uſe of long ſcriptural Prayers and Rhymes containing the main points of Chriſtianity, ſo that ſhe may ſeem to have been not ſo much a white Witch as an holy woman. And yet it is upon Record that ſhe made a Covenant with the Devil in the ſhape of a man, and in ſuchlike helliſh manner as other Witches do. But when ſhe ſought for anſwers from the Devil upon any occaſion, he appeared to her in the ſhape of a Dog; but the *formula* of her diſmiſſing of him, was, *The charging him to depart on the Law he lives on*, as ſhe did when ſhe diſmiſt him after her conſulting him about the old Lady *Edmonſton's* ſickneſs; but her invocation was, *Elva, come and ſpeak to me*, who came in the likeneſs of a Dog. Her ſailing with her

fellow-Witches in a Boat to a Ship, where the Devil cauſed her to drink good Wine, ſhe neither ſeeing the Mariners, nor the Mariners her. But after all, the Devil raiſed a Wind whereby the ſhip periſhed. Her baptizing, and uſing other Ceremonies upon a Cat, with other Witches, to hinder the Queen's coming into *Scotland*. Her raiſing of a Spirit to conjure a Picture of Wax for the deſtroying of Mr. *John Moſcrope*.

Hitherto I have brought but ſmall ſhreds out of this ancient Record, but I will conclude with a full Paragraph, it containing the Confeſſion of *Agnes Sympſon* to King *James* then King of the *Scots*: Which is this.

*Item*, Fyled and convict for ſameckle as ſhe confeſt before his Majeſty, that the Devil in mans likeneſs met her going out in the Fields from her own houſe at *Keith* betwixt five and ſix at Even, being alone, and commandit her to be at *North-bervick*-Kirk the next night. And ſhe paſt then on Horſeback, conveyed by her good-ſon called *John Couper*, and lighted at the Kirk-yard, or a little before ſhe came to it, about eleven hours at Even. They danced along the Kirk-yard, *Geilie Duncan* plaid to them on a Trump, *John Fien* muſſiled led all the reſt; the ſaid *Agnes* and her Daughter followed next. Beſides, there were *Kate Grey*, *George Moilis* Wife, *Robert Greirſon*, *Katharine Duncan*, *Beſſie Right*, *Iſabel Gilmore*, *John Graymaill*,

*maill, Duncan Buchanan, Thomas Barnhil* and his Wife, *Gilbert Macgil, John Macgil, Katharine Macgil*, with the reſt of their Complices above an hundred perſons, whereof there were ſix Men, and all the reſt Women. The Women made firſt their homage, and then the Men. The Men were turned nine times widderſhins about, and the Women ſix times. *John Fien* blew up the Doors and blew in the Lights, which were like mickle black Candles ſticking round about the Pulpit. The Devil ſtartit up himſelf in the Pulpit like a mickle black man, and every one anſwered *Here*. Mr. *Robert Greirſon* being named, they ran all hirdie girdie, and were angry: for it was promiſed he ſhould be called *Robert* the *Comptroller*, alias *Rob* the *Rowar*, for expriming of his name. The firſt thing he demandit was, if they keept all promiſe, and been good Servants, and what they had done ſince the laſt time they had conveined. At his command they opened up three Graves, two within and ane without the Kirk, and took off the joynts of their Fingers, Toes, and Neiſe, and parted them amongſt them: and the ſaid *Agnes Sympſon* got for her part a Winding-ſheet and two Joynts. The Devil commandit them to keep the Joynts upon them while they were dry, and then to make a powder of them to do evil withal. Then he commandit them to keep his Commandments, which were to do

all the evil they could. Before they departed they kiſs'd his Breech; the Record ſpeaks more broad, as I noted before. He had on him ane Gown and ane Hat, which were both black: and they that were aſſembled part ſtood and part ſate: *John Fien* was ever neareſt the Devil at his left Elbock, *Graymaill* keeped the door.

I have retained the Scotch Dialect here alſo, for the more Authentickneſs of the matter, and have adjoyned this large Paragraph, the Confeſſion therein contained being in all probability a more ſpecial occaſion of King *James* his changing his opinion touching the Exiſtence of Witches, which he was, as is reported, inclinable to think to be but a mere conceit before. For he was then but young, not paſſing five or ſix and Twenty years of age when this Examination was had before him. And part of the Third Chapter of his Second Book of his *Dæmonologie* ſeems to be a Tranſcript of this very Confeſſion. Wherefore this being ſo conſiderable an occurrence touching a buſineſs of ſuch moment, the bringing in here ſo old a Story amongſt thoſe of freſher memory will, I hope, bring along with it its own excuſe.

Thus have we contrived all the Relations in Mr. *Glanvil*'s Papers which were thought conſiderable, into this ſecond Part of his *Saducismus Triumphatus*. He once intended to ſub-

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joyn thereto an Anſwer to *Webſter*, *Wagſtaff*, and the *Author of the Doctrine of Devils*, as you may obſerve from the firſt Section of his *Proof of Apparitions*, &c. *from holy Scripture*: but partly by bringing in already the chief things in that rude draught begun, into what is here publiſhed, and partly by ſtating the Queſtion truly and with right judgement, he has prevented himſelf, and made that labour needleſs. As indeed in a manner it ever was, their Objections againſt Mr. *Glanvil*'s Opinion on theſe points, being wondrous weak, ſorry and ſophiſtical, and ſuch as it were pity that any man of parts who can beſtow his time better ſhould ſquander it away in confuting ſuch trifles.

There is nothing that makes any leaſt ſhew of ſtrength, but that touching the palpability of the conſiſtency of the Bodies of the Familiars of Witches, as if it weakened our Saviour's Argument to his Diſciples for his Reſurrection, where he bids them handle him and ſee, for a Spirit has not Fleſh and Bones as they ſee him have. And he bids *Thomas* thruſt his Hand into his Side, that they might be ſure he was no Spectre or Spirit, but the very Chriſt with his Fleſh, Bloud, and Bones as he had before his Crucifixion; and they were as well aſcertained of this, as ſenſe, nay the ſureſt ſenſe, that of Touch or Feeling, could make them, that he had really Fleſh and Bones,

and ſuch a temperament as humane Bodies have. Nor can any cavil avail againſt this from the Familiars of Witches, that will not as well weaken the aſſurance that we converſe with ſuch or ſuch a Friend, but with ſome Spectre like him; So that the Allegation is as weak as peeviſh and malicious. And if he ſhould doubt whether it was his real Friend, or ſome Spectre, if his Friend ſhould offer himſelf, as our Saviour did, to be touched, ſearched and felt, would not any body think it were ſufficient aſſurance? But for a perverſe Caviller or crazy Sceptick, what is it that will ſatisfie them?

But it may be it will be ſaid, that there be concomitant conſiderations that will aſſure the party it is his Friend and not a Spectre. And are there not concomitant conſiderations here alſo? The ancient Prophecies, and Chriſt's own Prediction that he ſhould riſe from the dead out of the Grave. And that God is a God of truth, and not of unfaithfulneſs and impoſture: Which aſſurance is of a more high and divine Tenour than that of feeling his Body. And therefore our Saviour ſaith to *Thomas*; *THOMAS, becauſe thou haſt ſeen me thou haſt believed, Bleſſed are they that have not ſeen and yet have believed:* For it is a ſign that a more noble and heavenly principle is awakened in them, that diſpels that thick Miſt of Sceptical ſtupor and dulneſs. It is a ſign

they

they are of a more holy, pure, and refined temper. And beſides all this, What Spectre ever challenged any one to make ſuch a Trial as this, to feel whether he was not very Fleſh and Bone as real men are, when he would impoſe upon any? Or how is it proved, though Spirits can bring their Vehicle to a palpable conſiſtency, that they can turn it into ſuch as ſhall feel of the ſame articulate palpableneſs of Fleſh and Bone and Temperament that are in living men? Till this appear by confeſt experience to be in the palpable conſiſtency of Familiars or Spirits that tranſact with Witches, the Allegation is infinitely weak upon that account alſo, as weak as ſpightful and perverſe. But the Hag-Advocates will alledge any fooliſh thing, rather than ſeem to be able to ſay nothing.

In the mean time I think it here ſeaſonable to declare, that though this intended Edition of *Saduciſmus Triumphatus* had not the happineſs to be perfected by the ingenious Author's own hand before his death, yet ſuch Materials he left behind him, and the work in ſuch a forwardneſs, that things being put together in that order and diſtinctneſs which they are, the Diſcourſe may prove as *uſeful* for the reclaiming men from *Saduciſm*, though perhaps not altogether ſo *delightful*, as if his own hand had had the laſt poliſhing of it. And the publiſhing of it will alſo do him that right in the eyes

of

of the world, that (whereas he was ſuſpected haply for ſome complaiſance towards ſome perſons that were over-inclinable to *Hobbianiſm*, to have ſhrunk from the ſenſe of ſuch noble Theories, with which his mind was enlightned in the morning of his days) it from hence may appear that theſe things ſtuck cloſe to him, and that he entertained them with a ſincere warmth all along, as is evident from theſe Papers then private within his own Study-walls. As the profeſſion of them broke out from him moſt expreſly when he lay on his Death-bed, as his intimate friend Mr. *Thomas Alcock* largely ſets down in a Letter written to Dr. *H. More*. And I think that is the time, if ever that men will ſpeak their thoughts freely, as the Poet hath obſerved in the like caſe,

*Nam vere voces tum demum pectore ab imo*
*Ejiciuntur, & eripitur perſona, manet res.*

To this Senſe,

Then 'tis men from their Hearts their Mind declare,
Caſt off their Vizards, ſhew their faces bare.

AN

# AN ACCOUNT Of what happened in the KINGDOM OF SWEDEN

## In the Years 1669, and 1670.

In Relation to the Perſons that were accuſed For

# Witches:

AND

## TRIED and EXECUTED

By the King's Command.

Printed at firſt in the *Swediſh* Dialect by Authority, and then Tranſlated into divers other Languages; and now, upon the requeſt of ſome Friends, done into Engliſh.

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By *Anthony Horneck* Preacher at the *Savoy*.

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*LONDON*: Printed, 1681.

# THE TRANSLATORS PREFACE TO THE READER.

Shewing, what Credit may be given to the Matter of Fact related in the enſuing Narrative.

*THat we are to believe nothing but what we have ſeen, is a rule ſo falſe, that we dare not call our ſelves rational Creatures, and avouch it; yet as irrational as the Maxime is, 'tis become modiſh with ſome men, and thoſe no very mean Wits neither, to make uſe of it; and though they will hardly own it in its full Latitude, yet when it comes to Particulars, let the Reaſons to the contrary be never ſo pregnant or convincing, they'le hugg it as their ſacred Anchor, and laugh at all thoſe credulous Wretches that, without ſeeing, are ſo eaſily chous'd into an imprudent Confidence. And this pitiful Stratagem we find practiſed in no affair ſo much as that of Spirits and Witches, and Apparitions, which muſt*

*al-*

*all be Fancies, and Hypocondriack Dreams, and the effects of distempered Brains, because their own are so dull as not to be able to pierce into those Mysteries. I do not deny but the Imagination may be, and is sometime, deluded; and melancholy People may fancy they hear Voices, and see very strange things, which have no other foundation but their own weakness, and like Bubbles break into Air, and nothing, by their own vanity.*

*Yet as no man doth therefore take unpolisht Diamonds to be Pebbles, because they do look like them, so neither must all passages of this nature we hear or read of, be traduced as self-conceit, or derided as Old Wives Fables, because some smell strong of Imposture and Sophistication. We believe men of Reason and Experience, and free from Fumes, when a person of ordinary Intellectuals finds no great credit with us; and if we think our selves wise for doing so, why should any man so much forget himself, as to be an Infidel in point of such Phænomena's, when even the most judicious men have had experience of such passages? It seems to me no less than madness to contradict what both wise and unwise men do unanimously agree in; and how Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, both learned and unlearned, should come to conspire into this Cheat, as yet seems to me unaccountable. If some few melancholy Monks, or Old Women had seen such Ghosts and Apparitions, we might then suspect that what they pretend to have seen might be nothing, but the effect*

*of a disordered Imagination; but when the whole World, as it were, and men of all Religions, men of all Ages too, have been forced, by strong evidences, to acknowledge the truth of such occurrences, I know not what strength there can be in the Argument drawn from the consent of Nations in things of a sublimer nature, if here it be of no efficacy. Men that have attempted to evade the places of Scripture which speak of Ghosts and Witches, we see how they are forced to turn and wind the Texts, and make, in a manner, Noses of Wax of them, and rather squeeze than gather the sence, as if the holy Writers had spoke like Sophisters, and not like men who made it their business to condescend to the capacity of the Common people. Let a man put no force at all on those passages of holy Writ, and then see what sence they are like to yield. It's strange to see how some men have endeavoured to elude the story of the Witch of* Endor; *and as far as I can judge, they play more Hocus-Pocus tricks in the explication of that passage, than the Witch herself did in raising the deceased* Samuel. *To those Straits is Falshood driven, while Truth loves Plains, and undisguised Expressions; and Errour will seek out Holes and Labyrinths to hide itself, while Truth plays above-board, and scorns the subterfuges of the Sceptick Interpreter. Men and Brethren, Why should it seem a thing incredible with you that God should permit Spirits to appear, and the Devil to exert his Power*

*among*

*among men on Earth? Hath God ever engaged his word to the contrary; or is it againſt the nature of Spirits to aſſume airy Vehicles and Bodies of condenſed Air, or to animate groſſer ſubſtances to ſhew themſelves to mortals upon certain occaſions?*

*I am ſo much a Prophet as to foreſee what will be the fate of the enſuing ſtory, nor can I ſuppoſe that upon the reading of it, mens verdicts will be much changed from what they were, if they have ſet up this reſolution, to believe nothing that looks like the ſhadow of an Apparition, though the things mentioned here cannot be unknown to any that have been converſant with forrain affairs of late years. And though there cannot be a greater evidence than the teſtimony of a whole Kingdom, yet your nicer men will think it a diſparagement to them to believe it; nor will it ever extort Aſſent from any that build the reputation of their wit upon contradicting what hath been received by the vulgar.*

*The paſſages here related wrought ſo great a Conſternation, not onely on the Natives, but Strangers too, that the Heer* Chriſtian Rumpf *then Reſident for the* States General *at* Stockholm, *thought himſelf obliged to ſend away his little Son for* Holland, *leſt he ſhould be endangered by theſe villanous practices, which ſeem'd to threaten all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom. And a friend of mine in Town, being then in* Holſtein *remembers very well that the Duke of* Holſtein

*ſent*

*ſent an Expreſs to the King of* Sweden *to know the truth of this famous Witchcraft: To whom the* King *modeſtly replied, That his* Judges *and* Commiſſioners *had cauſed divers Men, Women, and Children to be Burnt and Executed upon ſuch pregnant Evidences as were brought before them; but whether the Actions they confeſſed, and which were proved againſt them, were real, or onely effects of ſtrong Imagination, he was not as yet able to determine.*

*Add to all this, that the Circumſtances mentioned in the enſuing Narrative, are at this day to be ſeen in the Royal Chancery at* Stockholm; *and a perſon of my acquaintance offered me to procure a Copy of them under the hands of publick Regiſters, if I deſired it: Not to mention that in the year 72. Baron* Sparr, *who was ſent Embaſſadour from the Crown of* Sweden *to the Court of* England, *did upon his word aver the matter of Fact recorded here to be undoubtedly true, to ſeveral perſons of Note and Eminency, with other particulars, ſtranger than thoſe ſet down in theſe Papers. And to this purpoſe divers Letters were ſent from* Sweden *and* Hamburgh *to ſeveral perſons here in* London; *inſomuch, that ſhould a man born in, or acquainted with thoſe parts, hear any perſon diſpute the truth of it, he would wonder where people have lived, or what ſullen humour doth poſſeſs them, to disbelieve that which ſo many thouſands in that Kingdom have felt the ſad effect of.*

# The Preface.

*That a Spirit can lift up Men and Women, and groſſer Bodies, into the Air, I queſtion no more, than I doubt that the Wind can overthrow Houſes, or drive Stones upward from their Centre. And though I cannot comprehend the Philoſophie of her committing Venereal acts, and having Children, and thoſe Children bringing forth Toads and Serpents; yet I can very rationally conceive that he can animate dead Bodies, and by the help of them commit thoſe villanies which modeſty bids us to conceal; and he that was permitted, as we ſee in the Goſpel, to poſſeſs and actuate living men, and do with them almoſt what he pleaſed, why may not he commit wickedneſs by ſuch Inſtruments, and caſt Miſts before the Witches eyes, that they may not know who they are? And he that could in* Ægypt *produce Frogs, either real or counterfeit ones, Why may not he be ſuppoſed to be able to produce ſuch Toads and Serpents out of any miſhapen Creatures, and of his own making? Spirits that know the nature of things better than man, and underſtand better how things are joyned and compounded, and what the Ingredients of terreſtrial Productions are, and ſee things in their firſt principles, and have power over the Air, and other Elements, and have a thouſand ways of ſhaping things and repreſenting them to the ſenſual minds of men, what may not they be ſuppoſed to be able to do, if they have but God's permiſſion to exert their power? and that God doth ſometimes permit ſuch things.*

*we*

*we have reaſon to believe, that ſee men ſink into moſt ſottiſh wickedneſs, which very often produces that fatal Sentence we read of in the Evangeliſt*; He that is filthy, let him be filthy ſtill. *And certainly there is ſuch a Judgement, that men are given up to believe a Lye, and that God ſends them ſtrong Deluſions as puniſhments for their wilful obſtinacy and reſiſting of the Truth. Spirits by being Devils do not loſe their nature*; *and let any man in ſober ſadneſs conſider what Spirits are ſaid to be able to do in Scripture, and what they have done, and compare them with what is ſaid in the following Relation, and he will not think thoſe things the Witches confeſſed altogether impoſſible.*

*I could add a known paſſage that happen'd in the year* 1659. *at* Craſſen *in* Phileſia, *of an Apothecarie's Servant, one* Chriſtopher Manigh, *who after his death returned to his Maſter's Shop, and ſeemed to be mighty buſie there, walked about in the open Streets, but ſpoke to no creature but to a Maid-ſervant, and then vaniſhed*; *a thing which abundance of people, now living, will take their Oath upon, that they ſaw him after his deceaſe, at leaſt his ſhape, and which occaſioned publick Diſputations in the Univerſity of* Wittemberg: *but it's needleſs. If the Stories related in the foregoing Book are not ſufficient to Convince men, I am ſure an Example from beyond ſea will gain no Credit. It's enough that I have ſhewn Reaſons which*

*may induce my Reader to believe, that he is not impoſed upon by the following Narrative, and that it is not in the nature of thoſe Pamphlets they cry about the Streets, containing very dreadful News from the Country of Armies fighting in the Air.*

Farewel.

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A Re-

# *A Relation of the ſtrange Witchraft diſcovered in the Village* Mohra *in* Swedeland, *taken out of the publick Regiſter of the Lords Commiſſioners appointed by His Majeſty the King of* Sweden *to examine the whole buſineſs, in the years of our Lord* 1669. *and* 1670.

THE news of this Witchraft coming to the Kings ear, his Maieſty was pleaſed to appoint Commiſſioners, ſome of the Clergy, and ſome of the Laity, to make a Journey to the Town aforeſaid, and to examine the whole buſineſs; and accordingly the Examination was ordered to be on the 13th of *Auguſt*; and the Commiſſioners met on the 12th inſtant, in the ſaid Village, at the Parſons Houſe, to whom both the Miniſter and ſeveral people of faſhion complained with tears in their eyes, of the miſerable condition they were in, and therefore begg'd of them to think of ſome way whereby they might be delivered from their Calamity. They gave the Commiſſioners very ſtrange Inſtances of the Devils Tyranny among them; how by the help of Witches, he had drawn ſome Hundreds of Children to him, and made them ſubject to his power; how he hath been ſeen to go in a Viſible ſhape through the Country, and ap-

peared daily to the people; how he had wrought upon the poorer ſort, by preſenting them with Meat and Drink, and this way allured them to himſelf, with other circumſtances to be mentioned hereafter. The Inhabitants of the Village added, with very great lamentations, that though their Children had told all, and ſought God very earneſtly by Prayer, they were carried away by him; and therefore begg'd of the Lords Commiſſioners to root out theſe Witches, that they might regain their former reſt and quietneſs; and the rather, becauſe the Children which uſed to be carried away there in the County or Diſtrict of *Elfdale*, ſince ſome Witches had been burnt there, remained unmoleſted.

That day being the laſt Humiliation-day Inſtituted by Authority for the removing of this judgment, the Commiſſioners went to Church, where there appeared a conſiderable Aſſembly both of young and old: the Children could read moſt of them, and ſing Pſalms, and ſo could the Women, though not with any great zeal or fervor. There were preached two Sermons that day, in which the miſerable caſe of thoſe people that ſuffered themſelves to be deluded by the Devil, was laid open; and theſe Sermons were at laſt concluded with very fervent prayer.

The Publick Worſhip being over, all the people of the Town were called together to the

Parſons

Parſons Houſe, near three thouſand of them. Silence being commanded, the Kings Commiſſion was read publickly in the hearing of them all, and they were charged under very great penalties to conceal nothing of the truth, and to ſay nothing but the truth; thoſe eſpecially who were guilty, that the Children might be delivered from the Clutches of the Devil. They all promiſed obedience; the guilty feignedly, but the guiltleſs weeping and crying bitterly.

On the 14th of *Auguſt* the Commiſſioners met again, conſulting how they might withſtand this dangerous flood; after long deliberation, an Order alſo coming from his Majeſty, they did reſolve to execute ſuch, as the matter of fact could be proved upon, Examination being made; for there were diſcovered no leſs than Threeſcore and ten in the Village aforeſaid, Three and twenty of which freely confeſſing their Crimes, were condemned to dye; the reſt, one pretending that ſhe was with Child, and the other denying and pleading not guilty, were ſent to *Fahluna*, where moſt of them were afterwards Executed.

Fifteen Children which likewiſe confeſſed that they were engaged in this Witchery, died as the reſt; ſix and thirty of them between nine and ſixteen years of age, who had been leſs guilty, were forced to run the gantlet; twenty more, who had no great inclination, yet had been ſeduced to thoſe Helliſh Enterprizes, becauſe

they were very young, were condemned to be laſh'd with Rods upon their hands, for three Sundays together at the Church-door; and the aforeſaid ſix and thirty were alſo deem'd to be laſhed this way once a week for a whole year together. The number of the Seduced Children was about three hundred.

On the twenty fifth of *Auguſt*, Execution was done upon the notoriouſly guilty, the day being bright and glorious, and the Sun ſhining, and ſome thouſands of people being preſent at the ſpectacle. The Order and Method obſerved in the Examination was thus:

Firſt, the Commiſſioners and the Neighbouring Juſtices went to prayer; this done, the Witches, who had moſt of them Children with them, which they either had Seduced, or attempted to Seduce, from four years of age to ſixteen, were ſet before them. Some of the Children complained lamentably of the miſery and miſchief they were forced ſometime to ſuffer of the Witches.

The Children being asked whether they were ſure that they were at any time carried away by the Devil; they all declared they were, begging of the Commiſſioners that they might be freed from that intolerable yoak.

Hereupon the Witches themſelves were aſked, whether the Confeſſions of theſe Children were true, and admoniſhed to confeſs the truth,

that

that they might turn away from the Devil unto the living God. At firſt, moſt of them did very ſtifly, and without ſhedding the leaſt tear, deny it, though much againſt their will and inclination.

After this, the Children were Examined every one by themſelves, to ſee whether their Confeſſions did agree or no; and the Commiſſioners found that all of them, except ſome very little ones, who could not tell all the Circumſtances, did punctually agree in the confeſſion of particulars.

In the mean while the Commiſſioners that were of the Clergy examined the Witches, but could not bring them to any Confeſſion, all continuing ſtedfaſt in their denyals, till at laſt ſome of them burſt out into tears, and their Confeſſion agreed with what the Children had ſaid. And theſe expreſſed their abhorrency of the fact, and begg'd pardon; adding, that the Devil, whom they call'd *Loeyta*, had ſtopt the Mouths of ſome of them, and ſtopt the Ears of others; and being now gone from them, they could no longer conceal it, for they now perceived his Treachery.

The Confeſſion which the Witches made in *Elfdale*, to the Judges there, agreed with the Confeſſion they made at *Mohra*: and the chief things they confeſſed, conſiſted in theſe three points.

1. Whi-

1. Whither they uſed to go.
2. What kind of place it was they went to, called by them *Blockula*, where the Witches and the Devil uſed to meet.
3. What evil or miſchief they had either done or deſigned there.

1. *Of their Journey to* Blockula. *The Contents of their Confeſſion.*

WE of the Province *Elfdale*, do confeſs that we uſed to go to a gravel-pit which lay hard by a croſs-way, and there we put on a garment over our heads, and then danced round, and after this ran to the croſs-way, and called the Devil thrice, firſt with a ſtill voice, the ſecond time ſomewhat louder, and the third time very loud, with theſe words, *Anteceſſor come and carry us to* Blockula. Whereupon, immediately he uſed to appear, but in different Habits; but for the moſt part we ſaw him in a gray Coat, and red and blue Stockings: he had a red Beard, a high-crown'd Hat, with Linnen of divers colours wrapt about it, and long Garters upon his Stockings.

Then he asked us whether we would ſerve him with Soul and Body. If we were content to do ſo, he ſet us on a Beaſt which he had there ready, and carried us over Churches and high walls; and after all, we came to a green Meadow where *Blockula* lies. We muſt pro-

cure

cure ſome ſhavings of Altars, and Church-Clocks; and then he gives us a horn with a Salve in it, wherewith we do anoint our ſelves; and then he gives us a Saddle, with a Hammer and a wooden nail, thereby to fix the Saddle; whereupon we call upon the Devil, and away we go.

Thoſe that were at the Town of *Mohra*, made in a manner the ſame Declaration: being asked whether they were ſure of a real perſonal Tranſportation, and whether they were awake then when it was done; they all anſwered in the Affirmative, and that the Devil ſometimes laid ſomething down in the place that was very like them. But one of them confeſſed, that he did onely take away her ſtrength, and her body lay ſtill upon the ground; yet ſometimes he took even her body with him.

Being asked how they could go with their Bodies through Chimneys and broken panes of Glaſs, they ſaid, that the Devil did firſt remove all that might hinder them in their flight, and ſo they had room enough to go.

Others were asked how they were able to carry ſo many Children with them; and they anſwered, that when the Children were aſleep they came into the Chamber, laid hold of the Children, which ſtraightway did awake, and asked them whether they would go to a Feaſt with them; to which ſome anſwer'd, Yes, others

No;

No; yet they were all forced to go. They only gave the Children a Shirt, a Coat and a Doublet, which was either red or blue, and ſo they did ſet them upon a beaſt of the Devils providing, and then they rid away.

The Children confeſſed the ſame thing; and ſome added, that becauſe they had very fine cloaths put upon them, they were very willing to go.

Some of the Children concealed it from their Parents, but others diſcover'd it to them preſently.

The Witches declared moreover, that till of late they never had that power to carry away Children, but onely this year and the laſt, and the Devil did at this time force them to it; that heretofore it was ſufficient to carry but one of their Children, or a ſtrangers Child with them, which yet hapned ſeldom, but now he did plague them and whip them if they did not procure him Children, inſomuch that they had no peace nor quiet for him; and whereas formerly one journey a week would ſerve turn, from their own Town to the place aforeſaid, now they were forced to run to other Towns and places for Children, and that ſome of them did bring with them ſome fifteen, ſome ſixteen Children every night.

For their journey they ſaid they made uſe of all ſorts of Inſtruments, of Beaſts, of Men, of Spits and Poſts, according as they had opportu-

portunity: if they do ride upon Goats, and have many Children with them, that all may have room, they ſtick a ſpit into the backſide of the Goat, and then are anointed with the aforeſaid ointment. What the manner of their Journey is, God alone knows. Thus much was made out, That if the Children did at any time name the Names of thoſe that had carried them away, they were again carried by force either to *Blockula*, or to the Croſs way, and there miſerably beaten, inſomuch that ſome of them died of it: and this ſome of the Witches confeſſed; and added, That now they were exceedingly troubled and tortured in their minds for it.

The Children thus uſed lookt mighty bleak, wan, and beaten. The marks of the Laſhes the Judges could not perceive in them, except in one Boy, who had ſome wounds and holes in his Back that were given him with Thorns; but the Witches ſaid they would quickly vaniſh.

After this uſage the Children are exceeding weak; and if any be carried over-night, they cannot recover themſelves the next day; and this happens to them by fits: And if a fit comes upon them, they lean on their Mothers Arms, who ſit with them up ſometimes all night; and when they obſerve the Paleneſs coming, they ſhake the Children, but to no purpoſe.

They obſerve further, that their Childrens Breaſts grow cold at ſuch times; and they

take

take ſometimes a burning Candle and ſtick it in their Hair, which yet is not burnt by it. They ſwoun upon this paleneſs, which Swoun laſteth ſometimes half an hour, ſometimes an hour, ſometimes two hours; and when the Children come to themſelves again, they mourn, and lament, and groan moſt miſerably, and beg exceedingly to be eaſed: This two old men declared upon Oath before the Judges, and called all the Inhabitants of the Town to witneſs, as perſons that had moſt of them experience of this ſtrange Symptome of their Children.

A little girl of *Elfdale* confeſſed, That naming the name of *Jeſus* as ſhe was carried away, ſhe fell ſuddenly upon the Ground, and got a great hole in her Side, which the Devil preſently healed up again, and away he carried her; and to this day the girl confeſſed ſhe had exceeding great pain in her ſide.

Another Boy confeſſed too, That one day he was carried away by his Miſtriſs, and to perform the Journey he took his own Father's Horſe out of the Meadow where it was, and upon his return ſhe let the Horſe go in her own ground.

The next morning the Boys Father ſought for his Horſe, and not finding it, gave it over for loſt; but the Boy told him the whole ſtory, and ſo his Father fetcht the Horſe back again; and this one of the Witches confeſſed.

2. *Of*

2. *Of the place where they uſed to aſſemble, called* Blockula, *and what they did there.*

THey unanimouſly confeſſed that *Blockula* is ſcituated in a delicate large Meadow whereof you can ſee no end. The place or houſe they met at, had before it a Gate painted with divers colours; through this Gate they went into a little Meadow diſtinct from the other, where the Beaſts went that they uſed to ride on: But the Men whom they made uſe of in their Journey, ſtood in the Houſe by the Gate in a ſlumbering poſture, ſleeping againſt the wall.

In a huge large Room of this Houſe, they ſaid, there ſtood a very long Table, at which the Witches did ſit down: And that hard by this Room was another Chamber where there were very lovely and delicate Beds.

The firſt thing they ſaid they muſt do at *Blockula* was, That they muſt deny all, and devote themſelves Body and Soul to the Devil, and promiſe to ſerve him faithfully, and confirm all this with an Oath. Hereupon they cut their Fingers, and with their bloud writ their Name in his Book. They added, that he cauſed them to be Baptized too by ſuch Prieſts as he had there, and made them confirm their Baptiſm with dreadful Oaths and Imprecations.

Hereupon

Hereupon the Devil gave them a Purſe, wherein there were ſhavings of Clocks with a Stone tied to it, which they threw into the Water, and then were forced to ſpeak theſe words; *As theſe Shavings of the Clock do never return to the Clock from which they are taken, ſo may my Soul never return to Heaven.* To which they add Blaſphemy and other Oaths and Curſes.

The mark of their cut Fingers is not found in all of them: But a Girl who had been ſlaſhed over her Fingers, declared, That becauſe ſhe would not ſtretch out her Fingers, the Devil in anger had ſo cruelly wounded it.

After this they ſate down to Table; and thoſe that the Devil eſteemed moſt, were placed neareſt to him; but the Children muſt ſtand at the door, where he himſelf gives them meat and drink.

The diet they did uſe to have there, was, they ſaid, Broth with Colworts and Bacon in it, Oatmeal, Bread ſpread with Butter, Milk and Cheeſe. And they added, that ſometimes it taſted very well, and ſometimes very ill. After meals they went to Dancing, and in the mean while Swear and Curſe moſt dreadfully, and afterward they went to fighting one with another.

Thoſe of *Elfdale* confeſſed, That the Devil uſed to play upon an Harp before them, and afterwards to go with them that he liked beſt into

into a Chamber, where he committed venereous Acts with them; and this indeed all confeſſed, That he had carnal knowledge of them, and that the Devil had Sons and Daughters which he did marry together, and they did couple, and brought forth Toads and Serpents.

One day the Devil ſeemed to be dead, whereupon there was great lamentation at *Blockula*; but he ſoon awaked again. If he hath a mind to be merry with them, he lets them all ride upon Spits before him; takes afterwards the Spits and beats them black and blue, and then laughs at them. And he bids them believe that the day of Judgement will come ſpeedily, and therefore ſets them on work to build a great Houſe of Stone, promiſing, that in that Houſe he will preſerve them from God's Fury, and cauſe them to enjoy the greateſt delights and pleaſures: but while they work exceeding hard at it, there falls a great part of the Wall down again, whereby ſome of the Witches are commonly hurt, which makes him laugh, but preſently he cures them again.

They ſaid they had ſeen ſometimes a very great Devil like a Dragon with fire round about him, and bound with an Iron Chain; and the Devil that converſes with them tells them, that if they confeſs any thing, he will let that Great Devil looſe upon them where-

by all *Swedeland* ſhall come into great danger.

They added, That the Devil had a Church there, ſuch another as is in the Town of *Mohra*. When the Commiſſioners were coming, He told the Witches, they ſhould not fear them; for he would certainly kill them all. And they confeſſed, that ſome of them had attempted to murther the Commiſſioners, but had not been able to effect it.

Some of the Children talked much of a white Angel which uſed to forbid them doing what the Devil had bid them do, and told them that thoſe doings ſhould not laſt long: what had been done, had been permitted becauſe of the wickedneſs of the People; and the carrying away of the Children ſhould be made manifeſt. And they added, that this white Angel would place himſelf ſometimes at the Door betwixt the Witches and the Children; and when they came to *Blockula* he pulled the Children back, but the Witches they went in.

3. Of

### 3. *Of the Miſchief or Evil which the Witches promiſed to do to Men and Beaſts.*

THey confeſſed that they were to promiſe the Devil that they would do all that's Ill; and that the Devil taught them to Milk, which was in this wiſe: They uſed to ſtick a Knife in the Wall, and hang a kind of a Label on it, which they drew and ſtroaked; and as long as this laſted, the perſons that they have power over were miſerably plagued, and the Beaſts were milked that way, till ſometimes they died of it.

A Woman confeſſed, that the Devil gave her a wooden Knife, wherewith, going into houſes, ſhe had power to kill any thing ſhe touched with it; yet there were few that would confeſs that they had hurt any man or woman.

Being asked whether they had murthered any Children, they confeſſed, that they had indeed tormented them, but did not know whether any of them had died of thoſe plagues. And added, That the Devil had ſhewed them ſeveral places where he had power to do miſchief.

The Miniſter of *Elfdale* declared, That one night theſe Witches were, to his thinking, upon the crown of his Head, and that from thence he had had a long continued pain of the Head.

One of the Witches confeſſed too, that the Devil had ſent her to torment that Miniſter: and that ſhe was ordered to uſe a Nail and ſtrike it into his head, but it would not enter very deep; and hence came that Head-ach.

The aforeſaid Miniſter ſaid alſo, That one night he felt a pain as if it were torn with an Inſtrument that they cleanſe Flax with, or a Flax-comb; and when he waked he heard ſome-body ſcratching and ſcraping at the Window, but could ſee no-body. And one of the Witches confeſſed, that ſhe was the perſon that did it, being ſent by the Devil.

The Miniſter of *Mohra* declared alſo, that one night one of theſe Witches came into his houſe, and did ſo violently take him by the Throat, that he thought he ſhould have been choaked; and waking, he ſaw the perſon that did it, but could not know her; and that for ſome Weeks he was not able to ſpeak, or perform Divine Service.

An Old woman of *Elfdale* confeſſed, that the Devil had holpen her to make a Nail, which ſhe ſtruck into a boys Knee, of which ſtroke the Boy remained lame a long time. And ſhe added, that before ſhe burnt or was Executed by the hand of Juſtice, the boy would recover.

They confeſſed alſo, that the Devil gives them a Beaſt about the bigneſs and ſhape of a young Cat, which they call a *Carrier*; and

that

that he gives them a Bird too as big as a Raven, but white. And theſe two creatures they can ſend any where; and where-ever they come, they take away all ſorts of Victuals they can get, Butter, Cheeſe, Milk, Bacon, and all ſorts of Seeds whatever they find, and carry it to the Witch. What the Bird brings they may keep for themſelves; but what the *Carrier* brings they muſt reſerve for the Devil, and that's brought to *Blockula*, where he doth give them of it ſo much as he thinks fit.

They add likewiſe, that theſe *Carriers* fill themſelves ſo full, ſometimes, that they are forced to ſpew by the way, which ſpewing is found in ſeveral Gardens where Colworts grow, and not far from the houſes of thoſe Witches. It is of a yellow colour like Gold, and is called *Butter of Witches.*

The Lords Commiſſioners were indeed very earneſt, and took great pains to perſwade them to ſhew ſome of their Tricks, but to no purpoſe; for they did all unanimouſly confeſs, that ſince they had confeſſed all, they found that all their Witchcraft was gone, and that the Devil at this time appeared to them very terrible, with Claws on his Hands and Feet, and with Horns on his Head, and a long Tail behind, and ſhewed to them a Pit burning, with a Hand put out; but the Devil did thruſt the perſon down again with an Iron-fork; and ſuggeſted to the Witches, that if that if they con-

continued in their Confeſſion, he will deal with them in the ſame manner.

The aboveſaid Relation is taken out of the Publick Regiſter, where all this is related with more Circumſtances. And at this time through all the Country there are Prayers weekly in all Churches, to the end that Almighty God would pull down the Devils Power, and deliver thoſe poor Creatures which have hitherto groaned under it.

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*FINIS.*

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*THE* Swediſh *Narrative with the Preface being Printed in the Tranſlator's abſence, ſeveral groſs* Errata's *have crept in, which the Reader is entreated to pardon, and to Correct with his Pen.*

Preface, pagé 3. lin. 25. read, *plain.* pref. p. 6. l. 6. r. *His committing.* pref. p. 7. l. 17. r. *Croſſen* in *Sileſia.* l. 18. r. *Monigk.* p. 312. l. 9. r. *yet they were carried.* l. 14. r. *carried away in the County.* p. 313. l. 17. r. *Examination being made, there.* p. 317. l. 8. r. *of the Town.* p. 322. l. 13. r. *finger.* p. 326. l. 7. r. *as if he were.* p. 328. l. 1. r. *he would deal*

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## *ERRATA ſic corrige.*

### In Part the Frſt.

PAg. 16. l. 4. r. *Grammar.* p. 43. l. 9. r. δαίμονας. p. 53. l. 29. r. φύσεως. l. 30. r. παντομορφόντε. p. 57. l. 4. r. *Impoſture.*

### Conſiderations about Witchcraft.

P. 13. l. 9. r. *ſhewing.* p. 86. l. 19. r. *filaments.* p. 107. l. 17. r. *trifling.* p. 112. l. 3. r. *Marſilius,* p. 142. l. 30. r. *Being as Being is.* p. 143. l. 30. r. Genus. p. 179. l. 12. r. *ſo ſolemnly.*

### In the Second Part.

P. 128. l. 21. r. *Father the Examinant.* p. 132. l. 14. r. *wreſt.* p. 164. l. 22. r. *She ſaith.* p. 164. l. 28. r. *fide.* p. 202. l. 20. r. *averſation.* p. 275. l. 2. r. *ſaying.* p. 286. l. 17. r. *Ban-water.* p. 303. l. 10. r. *healing.* p. 310. l. 18. r. *veræ.*